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Applied Social Psychology in India

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Edited by
GIRISHWAR MISRA



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for the publication of this volume. This shows promoting research in the social sciences. I am S. C. Behar and Sri S. N. Rao who not only ways in organizing and conducting the se participation and indicating the linkages b practice.

Foreword

Four features of the seminar at which the papers collected in this volume were presented impressed me. First, the vision informing it was not constrained. Although the dialogue was mainly focused on social psychology, insights from cognate disciplines were also eagerly sought. This is as it should be; disciplinary parochialism obstructs the emergence of a unified view of humankind in society. Second, the seminar addressed itself to *problems* rather than to esoteric theory-building and puzzling exercises in research techniques. Third, without any inferiority complex, it evinced a deep human concern and sought to explore ways in which social psychology can contribute to the solution for the tangled problems of Indian society. Fourth, it questioned the relevance of some of the reigning paradigms and the appropriateness of some cherished research tools. Implicit in this effort is a desire to indigenize social psychology so that it encounters the Indian reality convincingly and productively.

Excessive scientism of psychology in India perhaps gave it a scientific character—when defined narrowly—and enriched its tool kit, but it also blunted the imagination and distracted the discipline from a larger social purpose. Durganand Sinha's pioneering work on rural development was an exploration in an uncharted territory, but it had vision and human concern. I do not know how the academic profession of psychology in India has received the work of Sudhir Kakar and Ashis Nandy, which personally, I find to be intellectually exciting. It has the quality of imagination. Both Kakar and Nandy draw freely from anthropology, sociology, and other disciplines without being apologetic about it. Tests and measurements are important, but the scope of ideas widen the horizon of the discipline. No ritual purity should be attached to the established tradition of a discipline as its frontiers are not sacrosanct. Traffic across disciplines leads to cross-fertilization of ideas and results both in disciplinary and interdisciplinary growth.

Several problem areas, especially those that have newly emerged, call for fusion of insights and intellectual resources. Communication, development, ethnicity and identity, feminist assertions, restiveness of youth as articulated in counter cultures, violence—to take some random examples—call for an in-depth examination



Preface

In recent years, the field of social psychology has witnessed the revival of interest in the practical applications of this discipline for understanding important social issues. The Department of Psychology at Bhopal University has been engaged in research and is teaching with a focus on applied social psychology. The colleagues and students of the department considered it fruitful to bring psychologists, sociologists, educationists, and economists of the country to join in the discussion and analysis of the important issues in this field. To this end we decided to hold annual seminars on applied social psychology. The contributions to this volume are based on the presentations given at the first seminar held from the 9 to 12 February, 1987.

The results of the seminar, as they are reflected in these papers, do not contain either verbatim or edited reports of the highly stimulating and productive discussion which took place. However, the main comments and criticisms have been incorporated in essential ways. In addition to the conference papers, several other contributions were specially commissioned to complement and extend the range of topics included in this volume. Each of the chapters contained here is designed to be read independently, depending on the interests and needs of the reader. However, viewed as a group, the chapters provide a good, although incomplete picture of the current scene in applied social psychology in India. The central concern of this volume is national development. However, it does not cover all possible issues and areas of national development but only a sample of the current concerns in this field.

Since the papers here are largely concerned with the issues related to problems faced in developing countries, it would be appropriate to consider some of the salient points which emerged from the papers and their discussions. However, it should be understood that although all or almost all of the participants in the seminar might not concur with what is said here, the ideas represent the personal reactions of the editor to the issues discussed at the seminar.

It was realized that the social sciences in general and psychology in particular cannot maintain their value neutral position and thus continue with the scientific stance. Therefore, there is a need to

rethink our role and reorienting theory and method and take into consideration the important human concerns of contemporary social life. Meaningful efforts in this direction would be possible only through culture, specific and indigenous concepts and methods. It also seemed that both inductive and deductive methods should be used in the analysis of social problems.

It was felt that social sciences can no longer remain isolated from the broader social problems. In recent years, the pressures from the broader social environment and changes in the disciplinary culture have led to a debate on the relevance of social sciences. Many social scientists have initiated the process of reorienting the academic culture to make it sensitive to the social issues and are addressing their efforts to diverse aspects of social problems.

However, the nature of social problems is different from the problems faced in the physical realm. They are intractable and, therefore, subject to extensive variation to the extent to which they can be perceived and understood. They are analyzed from different theoretical and methodological angles depending on disciplinary preferences. Therefore, social problems are diagnosed differently from one discipline to another and are treated at different levels of analysis. The different levels of analyses are pursued by different groups of researchers, and analysis at any level keeps other levels in the background. This situation necessitates greater amount of interdisciplinary interaction while planning and conducting research.

Another motif of this seminar was visualizing the role of social scientists in the context of social change. The large-scale and rapid process of social change is influencing the social system and changing the way of life. This necessitates that social scientists should confront the issues before them and contribute toward the choice of options and toward outlining related social and behavioral patterns. They are also required to think about the possibilities and potentials of the society. The areas of health, education, poverty, environment, language, management of science and technology, and population, which require careful application of social sciences for providing the scientific bases to understand the present trends and predict the future patterns, are necessary for policy formulation.

Extending and redefining one's role is usually a stressful experience. The same is accentuated if the new role is perceived as incompatible with the earlier one. The contradictions between the

two are painful and we often use mechanisms to defend the earlier role which does not further our attempts at application. For instance, there is a growing tendency to be stimulated by the social problems and undertaking research projects. However, when the project is formulated and conducted the problem is theorized and we end up with interrelations among theoretical variables while the goals of application remain neglected. Commitment to relevance and application in social science research is possible only if we assimilate the new expectations and improve our role skills. This is definitely not a simple task, particularly when we have to deal with a relatively less predictable social environment. But the same should not deter us in adapting to the new role.

Perhaps enough has been said to indicate some of the significant aspects of the issues pertaining to the study of applied social psychology and problems exemplified in the papers and discussions in the seminar. It is hoped that the book will serve to amplify the interest of students, teachers, researchers, and professionals in the field of applied social psychology and stimulate their thinking about some of the important problem areas.

Girishwar Misra



Introduction

GIRISHWAR MISRA

Applied social psychology is one of the recent endeavors of psychologists to make the discipline relevant to the complexities and contingencies encountered in our social life. As a science, dealing with individual psychological processes and social interactions, the field of social psychology has traditionally remained largely concerned with intra-individual processes and social cognition. However, the Second World War produced demands for the need to attend to various practical problems. In recent years the field has been expanded to deal with many new areas like medical care, law, education, environment, and economic behavior.

The task of extending social psychology to these new areas has proved difficult due to its paradigmatic limitations. Following a closed paradigm, the basis of socio-psychological epistemology was a mechanical conception. The classical experimental paradigm, however, has not been able to meet the challenges involved in the aspirations of action oriented social psychologists. The resulting frustration has yielded sharp reactions. The propositions in "Second Social Psychology" (Katz, 1978), "Toward an Applicable Social Psychology" (Mayo & Lafrance, 1980), "Full Cycle Social Psychology" (Cialdini, 1980), "Towards a Dialectical Social Psychology" (Rapoport, 1977), and "Advances in Applied Social Psychology" (Fisher, 1980; Bickman, 1980; Oskamp, 1984) represent a shift from laboratory oriented research to problem oriented naturalistic research. This return to Lewin's (1951) vision of research seems to be a sincere effort for reconstructing social psychology to confront social issues (Mamali, 1982; Rosnow, 1981; Stringer, 1981).

In recent years different types of problems have been presented before psychologists, and it is expected that psychology can contribute toward improving the quality of life and increasing the effectiveness of individual functioning in the diverse spheres of

life. It is now being realized that our research efforts should be socially useful. The major feature of applied social psychology is its focus on social problems in the context of real life. It involves research in the real world setting to develop and test different theories, and practise direct intervention in real life rather than extrapolating these theories from the laboratory. Applied social psychology does not believe in the dichotomy between scientists and practitioners or between pure and applied approaches, but aspires to treat theory and application as equal partners.

However, as the problems of applied social psychological concerns are culture specific, indigenous concepts and methods are needed for their analysis and for evolving strategies for their solution. Unfortunately, psychology like other social sciences, as taught and practised in India, is a foreign implant. It has its roots in the Euro-American tradition of psychology, and due to the lack of any organic relationship with Indian system(s) of thought the psychology which has developed in the last seven decades—following the establishment of the first department of psychology at Calcutta University—has remained largely of academic interest. With our western psychological heritage the research efforts were confined to replicating western researchers, random use of western tools, and subscription to western explanations. With little cognizance of our social reality, the recipient academic culture led to nonreflective activity yielding studies which were nontheoretical, nonparadigmatic, noncumulative, and crudely empiricistic (Mukherjee, 1980; Nandy, 1974, D. Sinha, 1986; J. B. P. Sinha, 1973). This situation prevailed for a long time because of the colonial spirit and our fascination with the “foreign” which made the western psychologists significant others. Our outward gaze made us doubtful of indigenous scholarship and defeated the process of serious internal dialogue among social scientists in India. The micro-social approach of theories, methodological constraints, and lack of interdisciplinary dialogue have arrested the growth of relevant psychology not only in India but in other Third World countries as well (Sinha & Holtzman, 1984).

The review of studies in social psychology done in India upto 1970 (Rath, 1972) reveals that most of the researches in social psychology were confined to the narrow aspects of social problems, attitude, opinion, and group and interpersonal processes. The studies undertaken between 1970 and 1980 showed a change. They tended to focus on problems of social structure, social change and

roles, organizational behavior, interpersonal processes and related issues, social perception, and motivation. The concepts involved in these studies included extraversion, *nAch*, locus of control, interpersonal attraction, anxiety, modernity, dogmatism, authoritarianism, tolerance of anxiety, etc. (Sharma, 1981). Some researchers paid attention to processes of attribution (Kanekar, 1981), information integration (R. Singh, 1981), manipulative behavior (R. C. Tripathi, 1981), ingratiation (Pandey, 1981), and some aspects of prosocial behavior (Krishnan, 1981).

As D. Sinha (1986) has commented, while other social sciences had accepted the challenge posed by the problems of development and change, the main focus of Indian psychologists remained confined to the personality characteristics of the individual rather than the social structure and processes involving social change. The importance of research in this area could be realized only during the 70s. Attention was paid to the problems of eradication of poverty and illiteracy, population growth, deprivation and disadvantage, rural development, prejudice, and educational innovations. The second survey of psychology (Pareek, 1980) demonstrated the need to study problems related to national development and social change with implications for policy planning.

In the recent past some attempts have been made to examine variables typically operating in the Indian context. Our interaction with cross-cultural psychology has resulted in a reorientation of our attitude and attempts are being made toward indigenization. The work on collective orientation, value orientation and leadership (J. B. P. Sinha, 1982, 1983, 1985), psychological differentiation and adaptation, conceptualization of the ecological map of Indian childhood, socialization and family influences (D. Sinha, 1981, 1982, 1986, 1988), discrimination and prejudice (Amar Kumar Singh, 1981), achievement cognitions (Misra & Agrawal, 1985, Agrawal & Misra, 1986), deprivation (Misra & L. B. Tripathi, 1980; Misra, 1983; Rath, Dash, & Das, 1979; Sinha, R. C. Tripathi, & Misra, 1982), and Jain's work on crowding (1987) are some examples of this new orientation. The psychologists are extending their interests, strengthening the theoretical and methodological foundations, and moving toward a new identity. The third survey of psychology (Pandey, 1988) revealed several emerging trends. As Pandey (1988) has indicated, we are witnessing efforts to outgrow the alien framework, orienting assessment in a subcultural context,

recognizing Indian philosophical thought and tradition as the roots of psychology, and attempting to shape psychology for a socio-economic change and national development.

The papers included in this volume focus our attention on the problems and issues that are of considerable significance in research in the field of applied social psychology. They range over a wide spectrum of themes related to competence, language behavior, poverty and deprivation, process of national development, political behavior, crowding, and population growth. The treatment of these themes has emphasized the theoretical developments and relevant empirical studies in the respective areas, and the examination of their implications in the Indian socio-cultural and economic context. They raise a wide variety of issues of broader relevance. They also reflect a variety of points of view with regard to problems, their analysis, and strategies to improve the situation.

The problems of Indian society are complex and multifaceted and, therefore, require a multidisciplinary perspective. The contributors to this volume are from the disciplines of psychology, economics, sociology, and child development. This collection provides an idea of the range of important concerns relating to aspects of development and to ways of thinking about them.

OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

The chapters which follow have been set in sequence beginning with a brief historical exposition of the field by D. Sinha and ending with an overview of the contributions and emerging issues in the field of applied social psychology in India by Girishwar Misra, Uday Jain and S. Bhargava. The chapters in between are devoted to various themes of applied social psychology.

The third and fourth chapters deal with competence and language behavior. R. C. Mishra examines the domains and criteria for competence. He critically evaluates biological and cultural approaches to competence and indicates the links between society and ecology and development of competence. The need for studying competence in the context of physical and socio-cultural conditions of life of the people is emphasized, and its implications indicated.

In the chapter by Ajit. K. Mohanty, the social psychological models of language change in intergroup and interlinguistic contact situations are critically examined in the context of the complex

features of multilingual and multicultural socio-linguistic realities of India. Mohanty argues that these models have limited applicability in the face of the fluidity of plural linguistic identities of language groups in India. In spite of the difficulties in assessment of objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, the concept seems to have some relevance for an Indian social psychology of languages. Illustrative analysis of complex language shift and maintenance processes is also presented.

Although the problems of poverty and deprivation constitute major issues before the Third World countries, their analysis has largely been done from disciplinary perspectives. A. C. Minocha examines the magnitude of poverty in India and its various facets including the economic as well as the psychological perspectives, and provides a critical appraisal of various attempts to reduce poverty. He indicates the social and economic considerations and suggests strategies for the effective planning of poverty reduction programs.

Uday Jain analyzes the attributions for achievement outcomes among deprived groups. After presenting an overview of the existing theory and research he reports fresh data on attributions by the deprived groups. He contends that deprivation leads to a social perspective which shapes the construction of social reality in a demotivating manner. It is argued that redressing this situation requires changes in the situations and experiences at macro as well as individual levels.

Girishwar Misra reviews the psychological studies of socio-economic and cultural deprivation undertaken in India. After analyzing the conceptual perspectives he examines the cognitive and motivational consequences of deprivation and explains the hypothesized causes of observed performance differences. Finally, the implications for intervention and future research in the area are pointed out. The chapter by T. S. Saraswathi and Ranjana Dutta presents the patterns of socialization of girls among the urban and rural poor. Following an ecological model they have ventured at a detailed and innovative study of the complexities of socialization in terms of goals and gender differences. They draw attention toward the environmental potentials and constraints operating in the process of socialization in poverty settings.

Jai B. P. Sinha has delineated the role of social psychology in the context of national development. He observes that because

development is conceived in terms of economic growth it has a very limited role. As the concept expands into endogenous development, social psychology acquires a pivotal role in formulating and implementing development plans. Endogenous development is realized by the internal growth forces in people who plan their destiny by utilizing local resources, vital traditions, cultural heritage, and indigenous institutions.

Rekha Singhal and Girishwar Misra highlight the motivational dimensions of social development. Concentrating on achievement motivation they present a critical appraisal of the assumptions of classical theory of achievement motivation in the light of cross-cultural evidence. Finally, the meaning of achievement in the Indian context is analyzed and its implications pointed out.

Development is not always harmonious. There is sufficient evidence that it has many undesirable consequences. K. S. Shukla has undertaken the analysis of this aspect of development from a sociological perspective. He examines the social context of tensions and presents a typology of it. The social dynamics of social movements are indicated and the causes of tensions highlighted.

Raj Narain presents a review of studies on political behavior. He focuses on political socialization, party members, legislators, leaders, voting turnout and voting preference, and provides a critical appraisal of the findings as well as drawing attention toward substantive issues for further research. He suggests that the study of political instability, political violence, and action oriented research is warranted.

Nandu Ram analyzes social mobility and marginalization among the scheduled castes. He argues that an intergenerational total social mobility occurred among the scheduled castes in areas like education, occupation, and social power which are related to achievement of status in the class structure or system of socio-economic status. However, this mobility remained incomplete as the scheduled castes were midway through their professional careers, and had not reached substantially high on the mobility scale. The scheduled castes were marginal in terms of their acceptance or inclusion in the "mainstream" or the referent "ingroup", but their marginality in terms of their location at the periphery was not distinctive. The social implications of this trend are indicated.

Uday Jain and Girishwar Misra examine the theoretical perspectives and empirical data on the human consequences of

crowding. They indicate the modalities through which crowding becomes stressful and disrupts individual functioning in different contexts. The implications of crowding and plans to cope with the resulting problems are outlined.

The paper by Ravi K. Verma presents an analysis of social psychological variables in population research. After reviewing the salient studies he presents a conceptual scheme to explain family planning acceptance and fertility behavior.

Taken together, the papers included in this volume represent a modest beginning of efforts needed to adequately understand some of the important problems of Indian society, and draw attention toward the possible points for intervention to improve conditions therein.

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Applied Social Psychology in India

DURGANAND SINHA

As a psychologist I always feel somewhat jealous of economics, which compared to other branches of social science is a little "un-social". Of all the social sciences, it puts the least emphasis on socio-cultural factors. But if you look at your life, economics seems to have made the largest contribution whether for good or bad. Many of us seem to feel that an ordinary man would have been better off, and life much simpler and more comfortable if the economists had not meddled with it so much. But whether we like it or not, the economists are here to stay, and have the largest say in matters of planning and policy making. Their developmental theories and models manufactured in the London School of Economics, Cambridge, or Harvard are taken cognizance of by everyone concerned. The question of whether they are applicable or not to our setting is irrelevant. As far as the formulation of national plans, policies, and strategies for their implementation are concerned, it is the economists who matter. It is only recently, probably due to the experience of failure of some of our plans in spite of their being so "rational", that other social scientists like the sociologists, anthropologists, and to some extent political scientists have tended to come into the picture, though only as second-class citizens. We psychologists are discontented at being left out. As it has been put

Note: Inaugural speech at the first seminar on applied social psychology organized by the department of psychology, Bhopal University, Bhopal. The seminar was held from the 9th to the 12th February, 1987. Normally I don't like delivering inaugural speeches or keynote addresses, for I prefer sitting on the other side. But it was the insistence of Girishwar, as well as the fact that this subject is of great importance and has been of concern to me and dear to my heart that has made me accept the invitation. In any case, I am thankful to the authorities of Bhopal University, in particular to the Department of Psychology and to Girishwar, and to all those who thought of me and conferred this honour.

half humorously, "economic development is much too serious a topic to be left to economists" (Meier & Baldwin, 1957). Therefore, if development is *too serious* a subject for the economists to deal with satisfactorily, other *serious* people like sociologists, anthropologists, and even psychologists have to come in. Within the next few minutes I shall try to give a bird's eye view of the situation, and what psychologists can do to justify their entrance into this new field.

In spite of the primary position occupied by economics as an applied social science, there is prevalent dissatisfaction with the application of economic principles even among the economists. I would start by quoting a Nobel Laureate economist, Wassily Leontief, whose input-output ratio is well-known, and who has had a great impact on the thinking in this country. Leontief in his presidential address to the 23rd American Economic Association in 1970 is reported to have expressed an "uneasy feeling about the present state of the discipline" though "it is riding the crest of respectability and popular acclaim so far as the social sciences are concerned". What was the cause of this uneasiness? He contended that it was not the *irrelevance* of the practical problems to which the economists addressed their efforts, but the palpable inadequacy of scientific means with which they tried to solve these problems. He regarded the consistently indifferent performance in practical applications as a symptom of the fundamental imbalance in the present state of the discipline. If Leontief had an "uneasy feeling" about economics, I wonder what degree of uneasiness a sensitive psychologist would experience about social psychology and its applications, particularly as far as India is concerned. Though social psychology is so intimately related to man and his many interactions, in its present form it is probably the least connected with human affairs and with problems that really matter. The only mitigating factor in this context is that social psychology in the field of its application is a comparatively new phenomenon. Before 1950, textbooks rarely, if at all, mentioned its applications. Even in the 750 odd pages of the two volumes of the *Handbook of Applied Psychology* by Fryer and Henry, published in 1950, the expression "applied social psychology" as such did not appear either in the index or as a chapter heading, although the collection contained quite a lot that could be called applied social psychology.

The textbook by Krech and Crutchfield (1948) was probably the first book on social psychology which had a subheading "applied

social psychology" running into just about a page-and-a-half. Even the famous two volume *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Lindzey, 1954) contained only one chapter on the applications of social psychology. There has, however, been an increasing interest in applications of social psychological knowledge especially since the mid-fifties, i.e., since the post-world war II years. The war experiences has made us wiser. The second edition of the *Handbook of Social Psychology* published in 1969 (Lindzey & Aronson, 1969) provides an example of this trend. The entire fifth volume of this edition is devoted to applications and includes discussions on a wide range of topics. There are nine chapters which give an idea of the scope of applications. These are: prejudice and ethnic relations, effects of mass media on communication, industrial social psychology, psychology and economics, political behavior, social psychology of education, social psychological aspects of international relations, psychology of religion, and social psychology of mental health. Except for social psychological aspects of international relations and psychology of religion, social psychologists in India have been making contributions to almost all of the above areas. Except for a couple of papers by Dr. A. K. P. Sinha and O. P. Upadhyay (1960a, 1960b), we have not contributed considerably to the area of international relations. The two surveys of researchers in psychology in India sponsored by the ICSSR — one upto 1970 and the other extending to 1976, edited by Mitra (1972) and Pareek (1980-1981) respectively, give a general idea of the nature and quality of work by Indian scholars in the applied social field.

Without going into the details of the studies or critically examining them in any specific manner, it is to be observed, as I have done elsewhere (Sinha, 1986a), that the general shortcoming of all our researches in all these spheres is that in a lot of them we have followed the dictum of endless repetitions and aimless replications. We have used instruments which are rarely appropriate to the sample under study, and have also used all kinds of questionnaires of very doubtful character in our surveys, so much so that some times social psychology in India has been very rightly characterised as *Questionnaire Psychology* (Sinha, 1981, p. 14). I would like to add the word 'bad' to the questionnaire psychology, because most of the questionnaires are really worth very little. This was the situation till some years ago though now it seems to have changed considerably

Another shortcoming limiting our utility as an applied science is that most of our researches are of an *ad hoc* nature, lacking a sound theoretical base or conceptualization. These researches are mostly empirical studies for the sake of empiricism. It would be beneficial to remember what Kurt Lewin has said about the importance of theory in empirical research. Moreover, there has been a lot of imitation and borrowing from the west — we have used conceptualizations which are hardly ours and have forgotten, as I have always said, that the model of man which is implicit in our thinking is western. Take, for example, the concept of adjustment. The way we have been using it implies that control of external environment is essential. As far as our outlook is concerned, there is no question of controlling the environment, there is no question even of the dichotomy between man and nature, so that the idea of control does not become important. As far as our model of man is concerned, man and nature are in a kind of symbiotic relationship where there is complete identity between one and the other. Therefore, adjustment is *not* control; adjustment is *learning to live with your environment*. In any case, it is rightly said that when we transfer concepts and techniques, we are doing something which is not quite justified. It is very difficult to transfer concepts, and it is equally difficult to transfer tools to a cultural setting which is entirely different. Most of our tools and concepts, have been developed in the west, and we just cannot afford to borrow and use them uncritically.

Jahoda (1973) has very rightly pointed out that psychological data and theories are products of a very specific social milieu of advanced industrial societies whose features are literacy, impersonality, universality, and a wide range of available beliefs, ideas, and attitudes. It is true that the theories derived in such countries have found reasonably good applications in a very limited area of our life. For example, in industry, educational institutions, clinical settings, and so on. In these spheres, the applied theories have certainly made valuable contributions because these institutions share to a considerable extent some of the stable characteristics of the environment from which these theories have been derived (Jahoda, 1980). But such conditions of relative stability are in general almost totally absent not only in India but in most of the Third World countries. All the time people are facing uncertainties and

instabilities that are the core characteristics of the rapid socio-economic changes taking place in these countries. Therefore, when faced with issues that are mainly the accompaniments or consequences of rapid change, the generalizations and theories that we have borrowed appear to have very little relevance or utility. On problems like violence, student unrest, intergroup tensions, divided identities, and loyalties—tenacities of the subnational entities based on linguistic, ethnic, and regional considerations, and countering the ill-effects of such environmental factors as migration and overcrowding, to mention a few—the existing western theories and principles only permit *post hoc* explanations and interpretations hardly providing any scientific basis for policy decisions or action programs. One tends to agree with Jahoda (1980) when he says that "Social psychology is still very weak as regards theories relevant to the studies in developing countries." This is a very significant statement and should be remembered. In order to be useful for the proper understanding of issues confronted by these countries, theories and principles should articulate the relationship between the socio-psychological processes and particular kinds of social systems, preferably taking into account social change.

Thanks to Professor S.C. Dube, being an urban oriented, rural-born person, I was once again taken to the rural areas. Whatever I have done in these areas I owe to Professor Dube because he forced me out of the comforts of working in the rarefied atmosphere of a laboratory to working in a much more complex but exciting field of agro-economic and rural development (Sinha, 1969). The rural areas have since become popular. When I look upon the kind of studies which are now quite voluminous in the country, it is strange that even while studying naive and illiterate people from remote villages or tribal areas, we uncritically use verbal techniques, western personality inventories and scales without bothering to find out whether their items are even comprehended, or if the concepts are present in the minds of the respondents. Items are taken out of their context and irrespective of the mental framework of the person, they are applied, data gathered, and with readily available computers, the most sophisticated analysis is generated resulting in a very neat junk that gets published.

I recently prepared a paper entitled "Psychology in Rural Areas: The Case of a Developing Country" (Sinha, 1985a), which has been published in a volume called *Cross Cultural and National*

Studies in Social Psychology edited by Diaz-Guerrero. I pointed out that the rural and urban constitute two largely independent subsystems which require separate tools for data collection, and separate parameters for analysis and understanding in their own right. One cannot understand the rural by applying the parameters and principles derived from urban samples. Psychology, as it has developed in the west and which we have borrowed so uncritically is a discipline whose data have been largely derived from the study of the urban middle class educated samples. Data and models of this *urban* discipline provide inadequate basis for understanding rural culture and behavior. The core characteristics of rural environment make it qualitatively distinct from the urban and any analysis of rural life has to be done against its own backdrop. In spite of all the limitations, the contribution of Indian psychology in analyzing rural problems has been considerable. I would go to the length of saying that we have set our mark in this area, and have thereby extended the boundary of social psychology as it traditionally existed. As in sociology, we have helped to develop a new subdiscipline of "rural psychology". In the book that I am preparing on this subject, I will show that whenever we have been innovative and conscious of the social reality, we have done our job well, and whenever we have been imitative, we have made a mess.

Change being the core characteristic of our social, cultural, economic, and even of our physical environment social psychology has to take into cognizance, at all times, the phenomenon of social change. Almost all of our social problems have to be conceptualized and understood against this background. In a recent paper on family, I have used change as a kind of ever present phenomenon (Sinha, 1984a). Socialisation or the mental health problems of a growing child cannot be understood without taking into account the general backdrop of rapid social change. In fact, in the developing countries, social change and development have almost become a value and a kind of slogan so much so that in the name of development you are allowed to denude forests and permanently damage the ecology. However, leaving aside the seamy side, it is through developmental efforts and effecting large-scale social transformations that quick eradication of poverty and establishment of an egalitarian society, which constitute our main goals, are possible.

In this context some advice to psychologists who want to work in the field is timely. Before the talks of applied social psychology

commence, it is essential to be fully familiar with the planning documents, because they provide the framework in which one has to operate. They lay down the main national goals, and outline the various areas of development and strategies. After getting to know these documents properly as a psychologist, you have to see if you have a role to play and in what way you can contribute to planning and development. Thus, to those who talk about national development and social change from a psychological angle, I suggest that they should first read the introductory chapter of the first Five Year Plan which Nehru is supposed to have written, and then the current plan.

To bring about quick economic growth with social justice and to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, with overall improvement in the quality of life, involve certain processes that are unsettling and have obvious psychological repercussions. All developing countries are in a hurry, as it were, to improve their socio-economic condition. If you look at a typically Indian scenario, but which applies to other countries as well, you will find that they are eager to catch up with the level of economic development that has taken the west generations to attain. The processes that have brought about the present level of development in the west started with the downfall of the Roman empire and was followed by the Renaissance, the Reformation; the French, American, and Russian revolutions, the breakdown of feudalism; and was rapidly accelerated by the industrial and agricultural revolutions with their accompanying scientific innovations and change in lifestyle, and more recently the revolution in electronics. Now, think of the time span covering all these processes and then think of the time within which we are trying to enter the 21st century. What have these changes done? Two processes have occurred which we as social psychologists must take into account. The first is the telescopic nature of change, i.e., changes which took centuries to come about in the west we are trying to compress in a generation or two. The second, which is more important and about which Myrdal (1968) in his book *Asian Drama* has discussed, is the cacophonic nature of change. Similar to disharmony, in which notes do not follow the order in a symphonic or regular pattern so that there is melody and harmony, but are jumbled together. The cacophonic and temporal compression of changes in conjunction have produced a condition that is highly unsettling, both for the individual and the society. Such instability

is accompanied by an increase in the incidence of riots, suicides, violence, crime, delinquency, alcoholism, alienation, and all types of social disorganizations. It is against this general setting of change and instability that problems have to be viewed. The problems arising out of change are the ones that require immediate attention of social psychologists. They are to be studied, though not in a routine and stereotyped manner by using western concepts, personality inventories, or measures which are hardly applicable, but by looking afresh at the problems and understanding them in their proper socio-cultural context. Social psychology which had been absent from the arena of social change has begun to take into its purview problems arising from it.

In most books on social psychology, social change does not even find a place in the index, let alone merit a discussion on it. It has no place in Lindzey's first edition of the *Handbook*. It finds a place, though only peripherally, in the second edition of the *Handbook*, where topics like developing countries and change are mentioned in about half a dozen places in the course of thousands of pages of its five volumes. It is only recently that things have begun to change, and I think I deserve some credit for it. As far back as 1966, during the Chandigarh session of the Indian Science Congress, the theme of my presidential address to the Section of Psychology and Educational Sciences was "Psychology on the Arena of Social Change" (Sinha, 1966). Utilizing a study of agro-economic development that I had conducted, which was sponsored by the National Institute of Community Development (Sinha, 1969), I made a plea that it is time for the psychologists to enter the arena. I indicated the kind of studies that we should be undertaking. It is satisfying to know that the notion became popular. About a year later in 1967, a conference was held at Ibadan (Nigeria) where some very prominent social psychologists from all over the world, including one from India, were present. They laid down the agenda of work for social psychologists in the context of development and social change (DeLamater, Hefner, & Clignet, 1968). Some of us have been active in various international organizations and forums. We have not only hosted many symposia on psychology and social change and development, but we have instituted, for almost a decade, a section called the Division of National Development under the aegis of the International Association of Applied Psychology. Now we have a special project of the International Union of Psychological

Science called the International Network of Institutions and Individuals which deals with problems of the Third World countries, of which I am the coordinator. In every international meet, the topic of applied social psychology occupies a reasonably prominent place. However, reflecting their ethnocentric bias, the scholars in the west have not even bothered to look at the work of Indian and Asian scholars many of whom have been published in western journals.

The topics that are coming into prominence in our country, so far as research in applied social psychology is concerned, are motivational dimensions of rural development; communication and diffusion of innovations related to agriculture; health and population control; leadership in rural and industrial settings; political behavior; political efficacy; power redistribution, especially in the context of the rise of trade unions; new style of management; factors in organization building; family in change; socialization; and health behavior research. The last topic has recently come into prominence. It is interesting to note that a comparison of the census figures for 1971 and 1981 reveals that we Indians have the dubious privilege of having the disease of poverty as well as the disease of affluence. Because of malnutrition and poverty in India, we are highly susceptible to all the communicable diseases and at the same time because of certain changes in life style we are increasingly becoming the victims of cardio-vascular ailments.

Apart from socio-psychological factors in the health behavior, socio-demographic and cultural aspects of mental health are also receiving attention. Further, psychological correlates of poverty, problems of identity, social prejudice including secularism, values, basic Indian character and development, social violence, ecocultural factors in human development, and many others represent the main areas of research interest of social psychologists in India. These studies contribute toward imparting a new look to the discipline. Their special features are not only that they are characterized by growing sophistication as far as method of analysis is concerned, but that they yield data which are suggestive of newer principles, models and concepts, and are also "relevant" indicating strategies for intervention. To give an example or two, Neki (1973) developed a new model of psychotherapy, i.e., the *guru-chela* relationship paradigm. Dr. J. B. P. Sinha (1980) has also worked out a new model of effective management in this transitory phase, called the

“nurturant task-leader” which is task oriented with structural expectations from subordinates, and draws upon cultural values like affection, dependency, and need for personalized relationship

We have also been innovative with regard to our tools. Father Bogaert (1984), while making an assessment of the adult education program came forward with a new technique of data collection called “participative evaluation”. In a study analyzing the tensions, co-operation, competitions, and alignments among caste groups in some villages, not only have the conventional techniques like questionnaire and interview schedules popular in social sciences been used, but historical material, depth interview, and diary of events in the village over a period of time have also been utilized (Jha, Sinha, Gopal, & Tiwari, 1985). The methods used for data collection display innovativeness and are appropriate to the semi-literate rural setting of Bihar. I have been responsible for developing tests for measuring levels of aspiration (Sinha, 1969), and for psychological differentiation (Sinha, 1984) by utilizing their (the tests) original paradigms and by suiting the test materials and procedures to the life and culture of the people. Many others have been active in this direction. In the process a new look to the subject is being imparted, and it is becoming more “Indian”. In a recent paper I have called this the process of indigenization of psychology (Sinha, 1986b). Whether this trend is good or bad, I leave to your judgement

Let me now conclude. I have been giving you a somewhat rosy picture of social psychology in India so far as researches are concerned. As regards their utilization, the picture is very disappointing. In spite of the fact that many of us have tried to show how the reinforcement principle could be utilized for dealing with many of the problems like campus violence, inducing developmental activities, when it comes to implementation, the principle is forgotten and one goes back to preconceived notions, ideas, and hunches, I need not go to any length into this question of utilization of scientific data in decision making. One good exercise would be to know how much of the scientific input, including that from economics, is actually used by administrators in planning and in the implementation of programs. Rarely are they based on sound scientific data concerned with planning. Professor Harish Ganguli (1971) rightly remarked that the association of psychologists with governmental efforts in planning and implementation of national programs is less than that of other social scientists. Pareek (1980) observed that “there are

signs of growing crisis in psychology" in the sense that it has "failed to make a thrust in the national life." The situation is similar in Africa. Referring to the Zambian scene which is typical of the African situation, Alastair Heron (1975) comments that psychologists are likely to be seen somewhat as a luxury by developing nations even when they demonstrated their potential as contributors to national development. We Indians are not unique. The disease is much more widespread.

The question is why have we been neglected ? Why do people rarely bother about psychology ? It is not necessary to go into the general question of utilization of social sciences by planners and policy makers. I would confine myself to psychology. Looking at the discipline I always feel that though we deal intimately with human nature and interrelationships, as a science we still tend to remain esoteric, investigating segmented phenomenon often leading to trivialities, so that insight and understanding have been sacrificed for methodological sophistication. We break reality into bits and pieces, because it is difficult to use sophisticated techniques in total reality. Therefore, the dictum followed is that it is best to use sophisticated techniques rather than know and understand social reality. Such researches frequently lack external validity. The main concern seems to be methodological sophistication, neatness, and experimental design and control even at the cost of distorting, if not entirely falsifying social reality. The data obtained may be easily amenable to sophisticated statistical analysis, but as far as understanding of the reality is concerned, they are of little use. Shunning away from the complexities of social reality and playing about with micro-variables seems to be done more for the sake of convenience rather than for gaining insight. Following Baumrin's (1970) statement in an APA publication called *Psychology and the Problems of Society*, I would assert that "doing disinterested science or science for the sake of science is likely to be immoral." It is rather an extreme statement but it does strike a friendly and harmonious chord in my heart.

Two things are necessary for social psychologist for doing relevant research. First, it is essential to widen the horizon and become a little more multidisciplinary. You cannot understand social reality if you have a narrow vision. Second, you cannot afford to fight shy of the systemic and structural variables which you tend to do because of your preference and unique skill in

dealing with microcosmic variables. I would make a plea for "macro-psychology" (Sinha, 1985b) which by its orientation is likely to be more useful in understanding the many pressing problems of social change and development facing the country, and also help in evolving strategies for their solution. I hope that the social psychologists in this country would accept the challenge and make a significant contribution in the world of psychology and thereby widen the conventional frontiers of the discipline.

To conclude, I would quote an economist and once again a Nobel Laureate. This time it is Jan Tinbergen who said in the conference of the Third World economists that "the economists of rich countries can perhaps permit themselves the luxury sometimes to engage in research of little use; just for fun, intellectual or otherwise." He asserted that "let us choose our subjects with intentions to be of some use to the masses forced to live below the poverty line. Let us not discuss theoretical details unless they are relevant to empirical testing of relationships we need to know for policy design. Let us not discuss models that rest on assumptions far from reality." I strongly feel that social psychologists in India should carefully bear in mind Tinbergen's advice and be of some use to people on whose resources they exist.

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Society, Ecology, and Competence

R. C. MISHRA

The conceptualization of human competence, its assessment, and the factors involved in its development have been the problems of psychological research for a long time. This paper brings together some of the issues pertaining to the study of competence in relation to ecology, culture, and society in the Indian context. It also identifies some areas in which research is required, and proposes strategies for research on those problems.

THE CONCEPT OF COMPETENCE

In American psychological literature, competence has largely been used to distinguish people who possess certain attributes associated with the white middle class type of success in schools in particular and in society in general (Ogbu, 1981). Generally, competence is conceived as an ability, capacity, or skill to perform a specified task. These tasks may range from a particular role in a given society (Anandalakshmy, 1975; Inkeles, 1968) to the mastery of the overall environment (Ainsworth & Bell, 1974). Coulter and Morrow (1978) and Smith and Greenberg (1979) have considered competence as an ability to adapt effectively to the surrounding environment. It is argued that every society demands a set of skills for coping with its existing realities, and the nature of an individual's functioning in that society depends on the acquisition of the relevant competencies (i.e., skills) required by those realities. A distinction has been made between specific skills and general skills, and emphasis has been placed on the latter in characterizing competent behavior. The general skills are considered to include the "capacity for combining information in a fashion that permits one to use flexibility, to go beyond the information given, to draw inference about things yet to be

encountered, and to connect and probe for connection" (Connolly & Bruner, 1974, p. 4).

This characterization of competence has brought the meaning of the term very close to the concept of intelligence. In fact, Connolly and Bruner (1974) have used the term "operative intelligence" to refer to the component of competence of general skills. However, as Berry (1984) has argued, a distinction should be maintained between cognitive competence and intelligence in terms of the organization or the generality of abilities.

Besides ability, one of the meanings of competence (competency) is "sufficiency of means for living." From the evolutionary perspective it may be argued that any organism who does not possess sufficient means for living at its command would not survive. Anthropologists would like to add that the people, societies, or cultures that have managed to survive through the ages must be competent enough to manage their affairs. In this sense, competence refers to the fitness of a person to interact with his physical and social environment. Viewed from this perspective, the idea that some people, groups, or societies are competent whereas others are not, may be regarded as the researchers' bias in favor of a particular definition of competence. In fact, more important and functionally significant questions need to be asked, such as, "competent for what" and "able for what". There is sufficient evidence now at hand to argue that the referents of competence vary considerably across societies (Anandalakshmi, 1975; Anandalakshmi & Bajaj, 1981; Berry, 1984; Goodnow, 1980; Sternberg & Wagner, 1985), and that there may be domain specific competencies (Berry, 1986; Berry & Irvine, 1985; S. H. White, 1973; Williams, 1970; Witkin & Goodenough, 1981) and situation or task specific competencies (Berland, 1982, 1983; Cole, Gay, Glick, & Sharp, 1971; Lave, 1980; Serpell, 1979). The study of these competencies may require innovative techniques of research of an "emic" or culturally specific nature, perhaps outside the boundaries of laboratories.

DOMAINS AND CRITERIA OF COMPETENCE

Research in the field of competence has dealt with a variety of domains and we have several types or categories of competence pertaining to domains, such as, psycho-social, environmental, social,

rhetorical, grammatical, linguistic, referential, communicative, conversational, interactional, interpersonal, interpersonal communication, relational, etc. Many of these labels may not be categorized into pure and exclusive classes, yet researchers have derived at least six generic competence constructs from this exhaustive literature, each representing a particular domain of competence. These are: fundamental competence, social competence, interpersonal competence, linguistic competence, communicative competence, and relational competence (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984).

Fundamental competence refers to an individual's ability to adapt effectively to the surrounding environment. Social competence is concerned with the psychological qualities that qualify a person to function with a given social role relationship. Interpersonal competence pertains to those psychological processes that enable a person to achieve specific interpersonal objectives. Linguistic competence is concerned with the knowledge, structure, and processes related to production and interpretation of language. Communicative competence is concerned with the use of interactive behavior that is appropriate to a given context. Relational competence represents the relationship of specific behaviors to perceptions of competence in a particular episode, context, and situation.

These six competence constructs, each representing somewhat separate behavioral domains, can be broadly classified into two categories: fundamental competence (those concerned with perceptual, cognitive, and linguistic behavior), and social and interpersonal competence (those relating to social and interpersonal behaviors). These categories represent the two broad behavioral domains in which people's competencies may be manifested (Witkin & Goodenough, 1981).

Different criteria have been proposed to mark a behavior as competent. Communication theorists have used the appropriateness and/or effectiveness of behavior as the criteria for competence. On the other hand, the defining criterion for possessing competence for other theorists is whether some end state is successfully attained, be it performance on a test, or achievement of a satisfactory relationship with one's peers, or performance or the negotiation of a particular role in the family or society or workplace, etc. Behaviors, such as, achieving a positive relationship with

others and psycho-social adjustment have been considered as characteristics of a competent person even in psychiatric approaches to competence (Wine, 1981).

RESEARCH APPROACHES TO COMPETENCE

Psychological studies relating to competence have been primarily focused on fundamental competence. Researchers seem to share two interrelated concerns in this respect: (a) the search of cognitive abilities among individuals or groups and their role in performance across different situations; and (b) the search of the factors in developmental process that facilitate or inhibit the acquisition of various competencies. The first concern has led to sampling the cognitive abilities placed in them and to comparing them in terms of those abilities. The second concern has called for an examination of the patterning of such abilities among individuals or groups in the context of developmental, social, cultural, and ecological factors.

Administration of psychological tests has revealed that, in the same tests, different people or groups tend to display different levels of performance. Such differences have been found at all age levels, and are as pronounced within a culture as they are across cultures. Two conflicting approaches have been advanced to account for such performance differences. These are known as biological and cultural approaches.

Biological Approach

Advocates of this approach have concentrated on biological (genetic and related) contributions to behavior differences. They believe in the biological unfolding of fundamental competencies, and look for universal patterns in their data (Kagan, 1981; Piaget, 1972). Various capacities, such as, those for analysis, imitation, language, inference, deduction, symbolism, and memory are considered to be "an inherent competence in the human program" (Kagan & Klein, 1973), and are believed to appear in any natural environment. The role of socio-cultural experiences is to speed up or slow down the development of a given function by some time. While the basic competencies are assumed to be universal, it is indicated that culturally specific talents, such as, reading, arithmetic, understanding

of specific words, concepts, etc., will not appear unless the child is taught these directly.

Cultural Approach

Advocates of this approach have placed emphasis on the role of social and cultural factors in psychological differences. Three dominant research trends (deprivational, cross-cultural, and anthropological) may be identified in this approach.

Deprivation Studies

This trend is represented in the studies conducted within the framework of deprivation. The basic assumption here is that a community under conditions of general poverty and various social disadvantages is an experientially and socio-culturally deprived community. These deprivations are expressed in various forms of deficits. The sources of deficit are different, such as, physical, psychological, social, cultural, motivational, nutritional, etc., which result in poor performance of subjects on various perceptual and cognitive tasks as well as measures of academic performance. Poor performance on tests is considered as reflecting psychological deficiencies on the part of those taking the test (Deutsch, Katz, & Jensen, 1968).

The "early stimulation" theory of intervention was proposed as a remedial measure to overcome the experiential deficits. It has taken several forms in research, such as, providing rich and varied experiences (Hunt, 1968; White, 1979); holding dialogues where referent objects are not available; providing secure mothering by substitution; training mothers to rear their children according to the cores of child rearing practices and teaching children to perform the core effective child tasks (White, 1979).

Unfortunately, these efforts have not proved very effective in inculcating the desired competence among children (Goldberg, 1971; Ogbu, 1978). For example, in White's (1979) famous naturalistic study the child's total social experience was found correlated with his or her language development but it did not correlate with his/her cognitive competence. Higher levels of performance of many impoverished children in school and society in the western as well as Third World countries (Heyneman, 1979; Van den Berghe, 1980), representing the "lotus in the mud phenomenon"

(L. B. Tripathi, 1986), have also questioned the deficit interpretation. Such observations have led researchers to look for explanations other than developmental deficits. However, those who follow this research tradition hold the belief that developmental deficits are the products of physical, social, and cultural experiences and these experiences are important determinants of children's poor performance on cognitive tasks. Moreover, children's early experiences with certain types of stimuli promote optimal psychological development, and it is possible to overcome these deficits through certain intervention programs for children and/or preventive programs directed at parents.

Cross-Cultural Studies

This research trend is represented in cross-cultural studies focusing on the *nature* of psychological processes. These studies make a distinction between underlying processes and actual performance, and maintain that different groups (defined in terms of their social, cultural, linguistic, or ethnic characteristics) should not be considered psychologically less competent or deficient in any important way. Research on *cognitive styles* in the framework of psychological differentiation theory provides us with some meaningful evidence. In this framework psychological development is considered to proceed along two different pathways. On the one end (called field independent, FI) is placed the analytical competencies and restructuring skills, while on its other end (called field dependent, FD) is found interpersonal competencies and social skills. It is argued that competencies of different individuals may be manifested in different domains. While FI people may be more competent with regard to the cognitive skills of analysis and restructuring, FD people may be more competent in situations requiring social sensitivity and interpersonal skills (Witkin & Goodenough, 1981), particularly in socially involving situations (Sahoo, 1986). There is no question of good or bad competencies; each style is considered from the point of view of its potential contribution to meeting the demands of society and ecology inhabited by the people (Berry, 1976).

Anthropological Studies

The cognitive style approach considers differences in test scores

from the point of view of cultural relativity and holds that such differences reflect the investment and/or manifestation of psychological capacities of people in different domains in response to their ecological press. On the other hand, some researchers who have pursued ethnographic studies cast doubt even on difference notion. Support for this viewpoint has come from observations of low performance of the so-called "disadvantaged" or "under privileged" groups on selected psychological tests and anthropological accounts of their competent behavior in day-to-day living. Studies on learning and thought processes (Cole, et al., 1971), pattern reproduction (Serpell, 1979), botanical and pharmaceutical knowledge (Motte, 1979), hunting techniques (Bahuchet, 1978), animal behavior (Blurton-Jones & Konner, 1976), navigational techniques (Gladwin, 1970; Lewis, 1978), and rules of land tenure (Hutchins, 1980) have generated suspicion regarding the appropriateness of the methods and tools currently used in assessing cognitive skills or competencies of the "test naive" populations. It is argued that test contents and testing situations in such studies have been so artificial and divorced from the realities of peoples' life that they fail to arouse any meaningful response in them. When these tests are arranged according to local conditions, differences in performance tend to vanish or, at times, lie in the reverse direction.

It is difficult to decide which one of these approaches is more appropriate; perhaps the goals of the study can provide the best answer. However, researchers trying to assess competence in context of socio-cultural variables tend to resort to one of these approaches

ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON COMPETENCE

One of the major paradigms to emerge in psychology in recent years is an "ecological perspective" in which the socio-cultural characteristics of groups and behavior of individuals are considered as forms of adaptations to their ecological contexts (Berry, 1976, Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Misra & Tripathi, 1980; Sinha, 1977, 1982a; Sinha, Tripathi & Misra, 1982; Vayda, 1969). The idea of "environmental determinism" of culture and behavior has changed considerably today. Aspects of both culture and behavior are now being viewed as parts of a broader ecological system in which changes in one part of the system are usually accompanied by

changes in other elements of it. Thus, a pattern of covariation or adaptation is found to exist within the interacting system.

The impact of this perspective on psychological thinking has been that both culture of groups and behavior of individuals have been considered to develop in such a manner so as to best meet the requirements of their ecology. The origin and development of various competencies have been considered in this way. Anthropologists (LeVine, 1967; Whiting & Whiting, 1975), sociologists (Inkeles, 1968), and psychologists (Anandalakshmi, 1975; Anandalakshmi & Bajaj, 1981; Berry, 1976; 1984) have indicated that the referents of competence vary considerably across societies, and that each society makes deliberate attempts to train infants, children, adolescents (and sometimes adults) so that they can ultimately fulfil the social obligations that their society and culture places on them (Inkeles, 1968), or meet the demands of their ecology. Effective performance in test situations does not necessarily constitute that obligation or demand. Thus, in this paradigm, various competencies are viewed as cultural requirements which parents or other child rearing agents are obligated to inculcate among children through a process of socialization best suited to those requirements. Here competence indicates the ordering of means to ends (Anandalakshmi, 1975; Fowler, 1972), and if there have been no failures in socialization, every child should grow as a competent adult in his society.

ECOLOGICAL AND ECO-CULTURAL MODELS

The ecological (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Sinha, 1977) and eco-cultural (Berry, 1986) models focus on the understanding of interrelationships between variables operating in the existing environment of the child. Although ecological models lack an adaptive perspective, they have proved convenient tools for research on competence particularly in the framework of deprivation. It is suggested that the development of basic psychological processes should be examined in the context of ecological factors as "they provide the source and variety of sensory stimulation, thereby enriching or impoverishing the experiential content of the individual" (Misra, 1977, p. 30). Thus, cataloging experiential inputs and examining their relationships with psychological outcomes seem to be the major concerns of these models.

Researchers comparing the performance of different social and cultural groups have generally looked for such input-output relationships. Finding confirmation of their hypotheses, they have generally remained content with the obtained results. The researchers have not tried to uncover the process variations underlying performance or outcome. People in different environments, societies, and cultures engage in different activities in their lives, leading to variations in psychological functioning. The search for input-output relationship has led to a paradoxical result. Where people all over the world have been reported as carrying out their lives in competent manners, psychological tests of cognitive abilities have been yielding evidence of stupidity (Berry, 1986). Such observations draw attention to those demands that one's ecology, society, or culture places on one, and because of which the competencies of people may develop to a particular *extent* or in a particular *direction*. This requires a study of the direction of development that the cognitive abilities of people may take as a function of the demands of their ecology and culture. This situation warrants an analysis of the ecological settings in which people carry out their day-to-day activities in order to understand their competencies. Berry's (1976) work and his eco-cultural model are representative of this viewpoint.

ANALYSIS OF ECO-CULTURAL SETTINGS

In attempting any analysis of the eco-cultural settings one has to begin with an account of the physical environment or the "habitat" with which people constantly interact in pursuing satisfaction of their primary needs. Such interactions not only provide people with some specific experiences, but also generate certain characteristic patterns of economic, demographic, socio-cultural, and biological adaptations. The ecological characteristics determine the major economic pursuits of people, such as, hunting-gathering, agriculture or wage earning. Such economic pursuits place different demands on people and bring in different sets of skills to cope with them. The subsistence economy can determine the life style of people (nomadic or sedentary), food accumulation (low or high), concentration of population (low or high), etc (Murdock, 1967). A set of socio-cultural characteristics are generated in adaptation to these ecological presses. For example, nomadic

societies which have low levels of role diversity and socio-cultural stratifications are reported to have a "loose" social structure, whereas sedentary societies involving relatively higher levels of role diversity and socio-cultural stratification are said to be "tight".

The ecological demands and cultural characteristics of groups tend to determine their socialization practices. Barry, Child, and Bacon (1959) have demonstrated that the societies which have a nomadic life style (low in food accumulation) tend to foster "assertion" during child rearing, whereas those with sedentary life styles (high in food accumulation) tend to foster "compliance". These contrasting socialization emphasis in nomadic and sedentary groups have been confirmed in several studies (Berry, 1976; Berry, Van de Koppel, Senechal, Annis, Bahuchet, CavalliSforza & Witkin, 1986; Sinha, 1979), and have been shown to be systematically related to the development of certain abilities.

Spatial ability (or the "K" factor) may provide one such example. It is evident (Berry, 1976; Berry et al., 1986; Sinha, 1979) that hunting and gathering populations engage with their ecological context by moving through it and lifting resources (animals, fruits, mushrooms, etc.) from the camouflaged environment in a symbiotic fashion. Such an ecological engagement demands spatial analysis, perceptual disembedding, and navigational abilities which are nurtured through a loose social structure, including minimal social stratification and socialization of achievement, autonomy, and independence (called assertion) in the hunting-gathering society. Thus, a particular domain of competence is achieved by such groups. These abilities have little functional value for agricultural populations, hence, they achieve a different domain of competence. The socialization process by its emphasis on obedience, responsibility, and nurturance (called compliance) in such a society is geared to achieve these goals. Other ecological contexts may require other sets of abilities for meeting their demands, and socio-cultural characteristics may develop in a way that permits the population to deal effectively with their ecological contexts.

The implication of this approach for the study of competence is clear. Any test of competence which does not consider the ecological demands and cultural goals of different groups of people cannot provide proper estimate of their abilities. An adequate sampling of competence on the part of the researcher will require the knowledge

of abilities which are valued in the society or culture in which he is working; the behaviors which are culturally transmitted and carried out in day-to-day activities by the people; and also the conditions under which such behaviors may be displayed. If this is not achieved, the extent and direction of development of competence will not be precisely known.

MICRO VERSUS MACRO ANALYSIS

The studies following deficit as well as difference models outline the role of environmental and socialization experiences in the development of psychological competence, and indicate that society and ecology play a vital role in this respect. However, one important difference (besides many others) between the two approaches is the deficit model's preoccupation with events in the micro-settings (e g., the family) and its unwillingness to examine the impact of the social, economic, and political systems, which are called "the imperatives of culture" (Cohen, 1971), in which the child is to live and perform different activities as an adult. Inkeles (1968) pointed out much earlier that those studying child rearing were mostly concerned with the problems of personality (socio-emotional) development, and this dominant concern led them to concentrate on the "purely intrafamilial and interpersonal aspects of parent child relations". Even those researchers who introduced social class, ethnicity, occupation, etc., as control variables have not gone beyond "the individual parent as the socialization agent" (Inkeles, 1968). This appears to be more or less true even today (D. Sinha, 1981). It has been suggested that the study of child rearing and development should be broadened to include the influences of macro-settings on developmental processes.

Such observations clearly suggest that it is not possible to examine the nature of human competence without reference to the ecological and cultural settings (the macro settings) in which people live and carry out their day-to-day activities. It is in these settings that opportunities are available to people to learn a variety of competencies in order to achieve their subsistence goals, and to cope with other demands placed on them by their ecology. As Berry (1983) has argued, there should be "a concern not only for understanding the context, but also a belief that the context is an interwoven pattern of events and experiences" (p.118).

The debate concerning micro vs. macro approaches to the study of cognitive abilities or competencies has nowhere been more eloquent than in the pursuit of systemic (Barker, 1968; Berry 1976, Brunswik, 1957; D. Sinha, 1979) and situational (Berland, 1982, 1983; Cole et al., 1971; Cole & Griffin, 1980) analyses of performance on perceptual and cognitive tasks. In the systemic approach, the context is viewed as a broad grained system consisting of several interrelated systems, and it is suggested that the study of context requires a multilevel investigation in which a particular smaller component is "nested" in a larger network (Berry, 1980; Sinha, 1982a, 1982c). The research strategy to be adopted here is to proceed from a broader level and to gradually descend to include more specific analyses. In the situational approach, on the other hand, the context is viewed as a specific situation or experience which can be identified and reliably related to the development of a specific behavior or performance. Here, the particular situation is granted greater salience than the overall context in which it is nested (Berry, 1983).

Despite an apparent contrast, some attempts toward resolving the situation versus system approach for the understanding of context are currently evident. One is the analysis of the skills of *Kanjars* and *Qalandars* by Berland (1982). He has proposed the term "cognitive amplifiers" which refer to the "ecologically embedded and socially mediated experiences and skills." It is argued that cognitive amplifiers are available in every eco-cultural context. The fact that individuals must have access to such experience or that they should actually participate in them, however, does not find a place in his work. Consequently, he has charged those who favor a system approach as investigating the "contexts without contents" or "systems without situations." On the other hand, Berry (1983) and Jahoda (1980) tend to charge those who favor situational approach as investigating "contents without contexts" or "situations without systems."

These concerns find due place in Berry's (1980) proposal of multi-level framework for ecological analysis, and in D. Sinha's (1982a) ecological map of the child. These efforts, in fact, legitimize the work accomplished in both the traditions (situations and systems). In addition, there is also an indication that these approaches are not contradictory, rather these may be used as complementary approaches.

SOME RESEARCH ISSUES

The foregoing analysis has indicated that without reference to the nature of ecology, culture, and society in which people live, any attempt at understanding human competence will be inadequate. Psychological study of the development of human competence in the context of socio-cultural variables has become a fascinating area of research all over the world for the last few decades. A good deal of work has been accomplished in India with regard to the acquisition and development of perceptual and cognitive skills (Sinha, 1982) in traditions laid down by intelligence theorists as well as Piaget and Witkin. There seems to be a greater reliance on the social deprivation model as compared to any other model of competence characterization. This impact is clearly reflected in attempts at the development of scales for the measurement of deprivation (Misra & Tripathi, 1978). Even those researchers who have preferred not to work with scales but with environmental and socio-cultural variables, singly or in different combinations, mostly seem to subscribe to the conclusions of deprivation studies (Agrawal & Mishra, 1983; Jachuk, 1982; Mishra, 1976; Singh, 1980; Sinha, 1977; Sinha & Mishra, 1982). The eco-cultural and ethnographic perspectives are considerably lacking in research on cognitive competence in this country.

Nevertheless, this situation reflects a concern on the part of the psychologists in India for making their activities socially relevant. Study of fundamental competencies in the context of physical and socio-cultural contexts indicates that research efforts have been brought down to the level of social reality. However, there is much more yet to be accomplished. It is occasionally pointed out that Indian society is authoritarian, and yet it is a relationship oriented society in which "dependency" could be a terminal value (Kakar, 1978), and the "personalized nature of relationships" one of the bases for power seeking (J. B. P. Sinha, 1982). Such a concern sets our goal considerably apart from those of other societies in which achieving dependency and personalized relationships are not set as valued goals. This necessitates a detailed analysis of the people's eco-cultural contexts to find out the nature of influences for the acquisition of such competencies and to identify the mechanisms through which they come to facilitate or inhibit the development of such competencies. Designing tests or tasks for the measurements

of such competencies particularly in the rural settings is a more challenging exercise for us; efforts in this direction are yet to be initiated.

India is a culturally plural country. Despite a basic unity in the ethos of our culture there seems to be much diversity as far as the constituents of our culture are concerned. The term "subculture" is generally used to refer to such diversities. Variations in land, temperature, rainfall, winds, etc., across the country present ecological contrasts, and variations in life styles (nomadic to sedentary), social structures (involving several caste and ethnic groups), and familial compositions (polyandry to polygamy or joint to nuclear) seem to be quite obvious. These have some definite implications for differential experience and socialization. Thus, opportunity exists here to seek ecological and socio-cultural variations in different magnitudes, and to examine their role in the growth of cognitive, social, emotional, and other psychological competencies.

Studies by Anandalakshmy (1975), on child socialization for competence among the potters, craft communities (e.g., bangle makers, clay toy makers, mat makers), and on weavers (Anandalakshmy & Bajaj, 1981), indicate that economic factors do not directly relate to the socialization process and a child's competence behavior (measured in terms of responsibility, self-reliance, and achievement). Individual factors, situational events, and specific life experiences within the framework of the eco-cultural environment of the community are more salient than the economic factors in socialization and child competence. Other studies (e.g., Sinha, 1982b) point out that ecological conditions, structures of the families, and children's experiences in them can play a significant role in the development of psychological competence. For example, the presence of single parent models in monogamous families as compared to polyandrous and polygynadrous families have been indicated to produce greater psychological differentiation (Sinha & Bharat, 1985). Although these studies have many limitations, they have happened to be good starting points to suggest that we need to examine a variety of competencies in the context of ecological, socio-cultural, and familial characteristics within which the child is embedded all along the developmental periods.

Study of competence in the context of ecology and society is important for another vital reason. In a developing country like

India, which is characterized by rapid socio-cultural changes and instabilities in many spheres of life, there seems to have occurred what may be called an "eco-cultural crisis". With rapid industrialization, urbanization, and expansion of education and technology several changes are introduced in the surrounding environment and in the traditional life styles of the people in almost every corner of the country. One of the distinct characteristics of these changes is their rapidness. We want to attain in a few years the level of economic development and socio-cultural changes which the western countries have been able to achieve in several generations. As D. Sinha (1982) points out, this process has involved not only a telescoping or a "temporal compression" of changes within the span of a generation, but it has also been "cacaphonic" in character. These characteristics of socio-cultural changes in India have created several unsettling conditions for individuals as well as the society.

Studies of social and cultural changes mostly seem to share the contention of the universal model of change and development in which achieving industrial and technological growth is considered as valued goal. Rapid growth of industrialization and expansion of education in India during the last few decades have radically changed the structure of employment, and today we find most of the people going beyond the occupations traditionally associated with their castes or families. A large-scale migration of rural people to the industrial urban centers in search or service of an employment can be easily noticed in recent years. Effective functioning in such environments demand a new set of skills or competencies. A conflict or mismatch between the traditional indicators of competence and those which are required for adapting to new settings is quite likely to occur in the process of change.

Thus, change in habitat can alter not only the physical and socio-cultural characteristics of the people's environment, but there is also likely to be a change in what has been called the characteristics of the "psychological man", such that a person living in an urban industrial setting becomes psychologically different from the one inhabiting a rural agricultural setting. The nature and quality of experiences, subsistence demands, and daily routines dictated enormously in these settings thereby posing a serious challenge to the utility of the people's traditional skills and competencies. The study of continuity and changes in the behavior of people in general and their psychological competencies in particular

in the process of socio-cultural change appears to be a promising area of research.

The socio-cultural changes are not always good; a number of negative consequences may accompany such changes. These may range from various physical health hazards owing to ecological imbalances, population density, pollution, insanitation, etc., to several serious psychological problems, such as, anxieties and tensions resulting from economic depressions, socio-cultural isolations and behavioral inadequacies. A study of such stresses in urban industrial settings, and the strategies adopted by people in order to cope with them is an equally valuable area of research, particularly in the context of the voluntary or forced nature of migration.

Thus, there are many problems ranging from competence in basic psychological processes to competence in several broader behavioral domains which need to be carefully studied in the context of ecology and society. The mechanisms through which these are inculcated among people are equally important for research. Such studies are important because they can yield a number of pointers and suggestions for practical application in the education and training of people, and for the goal of human resource development.

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Social Psychological Aspects of Languages in Contact in Multilingual Societies

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The Indian “unity in diversity” has become so hackneyed a slogan that it is difficult to talk about diversity in India without the danger of running into many a cliché. And yet, the realities of socio-cultural diversities in India are so pertinent to the development of meaningful social sciences in this country, that their significance can hardly be overstated. Among the multiple aspects of Indian diversity, which are intricately related in an intertwining, multicultural mosaic, is its linguistic diversity which constitutes the focal point of this paper. However, this does not imply that it is isolated from or unrelated to other aspects of the multiculture, or even that it is relatively more important. Based on a characterization of Indian multilingualism, this article examines the current social psychological and socio-linguistic analyses of intergroup relations and communication patterns, for understanding the Indian multilingual realities in which individuals and communities find themselves in diverse situations of languages in contact—characteristically different from those occurring in dominant monolingual societies of the west.

NATURE OF LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN INDIA

India has been rightly characterized as a socio-linguistic giant (Pandit, 1972) whose central nerve is multilingualism (Annamalai, 1986). According to Pattanayak (1981), there is a fundamental difference between the multilingual and dominant monolingual ethos: “the question asked about the socio-political structure by both reveals the difference. The dominant monolingual point of

view is reflected in the question 'How much cultural diversity can a viable political order sustain?' The question in multilingual and multiethnic countries, however, is, what would be a viable political structure/order under conditions of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity?" The magnitude of Indian multilingualism is self-evident from the fact that the 1961 Census recorded 1652 mother tongues reducible to 201 languages (belonging to four different language families) of which 47 are used as mediums of instruction, 87 for the press, 71 for radio broadcasting, and 13 for state level administration. Khubchandani (1986) characterizes the Indian socio-linguistic realities by heterogeneity, showing the prevalence of linguistically pluralistic communities throughout minority speech groups exceeding 20 per cent of the district population.

Under such conditions of heterogeneity, the patterns of language use are characterized by stratified hierarchical structure interlocked with caste, religion, family hierarchy, gender, etc., so that it is possible to distinguish between Brahmin-nonBrahmin varieties of language use (Annamalai, 1986a), Hindu-Muslim varieties of *Khariboli* (Khubchandani, 1983), etc. In this process of great heterogeneity, individual use of language is also characterized by fluid boundaries. In the 1931 Census (Vol. I), Hutton points to this fluidity of language boundaries: "so deep does bilingualism go in parts of Ganjam that from very infancy men grow up so much at home in both that they cannot tell which to return as their mother tongue." Khubchandani (1983, 1986) provides excellent discussion of this fluidity of mother tongue identification based on an analysis of the 1951 and 1961 Census returns. He shows that in the HUP (Hindi-Urdu-Panjabi speaking) region there has been a phenomenal shift away from Hindi toward regional languages between 1951 and 1961. The number of persons in Bihar claiming the Bihari group of languages—mainly Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Magahi—increased by 14.61 per cent during the decade from 1951 to 1961. Similarly, the national trend for the declaration of Urdu as the mother tongue increased by 68.7 per cent during this decade revealing a change from regional to religious identity as the basis for mother tongue claim. Khubchandani (1986) also points out that "in spite of the linguistic reorganization of Indian states in 1956 based on the language identity of the dominant pressure groups, *language identity* regions are not necessarily homogeneous *communication regions* ... Every state apart from the dominant state

language, has from one to six outside, or minority languages which are spoken by more than 20 persons per 1000 population" (p. 20)

The complexity in language identity patterns, patterns of actual language use, and declaration of the mother tongue is exemplified by the heterogeneity in the Hindi mother tongue claimants (123 millions in the 1961 Census), amongst whom Khubchandani (1986) identifies five broad categories of language users. The psychological aspects of the mother tongue claim need to be examined in view of the fact that it often reflects a feeling of solidarity or cohesion or a mark of distinctiveness rather than actual language use (Khubchandani, 1983, 1986). This is also further complicated by the fact that in at least the HUP region, characterized as the fluid zone (Khubchandani, 1983, 1986), most of the speakers are even unaware of their bilingualism since switching from regional languages (e.g., Bhojpuri, Braj, Bangru, Maithili, etc.) to Hindi-Urdu is considered similar to the switching of styles (e.g., formal to informal) in a monolingual system. "Functionally as well as psychologically, they (regional languages) are accepted by their speakers as dialect-like tools for informal and oral communication" (Kloss, 1967).

Thus, in a multilingual society, the individuals as well as the communities are often required to keep their speech identities vacillating even across the formal language boundaries in response to a host of complex and interacting contextual factors. The individual's language use patterns, across a variety of situations or domains and interlocutors, has to go through a socialization process for the selection of different varieties of speech (such as, close ingroup, intergroup, mass communication, formal, etc.). Within the regional variations in patterns of speech use, there is also evidence of further hierarchization. For example, there is some evidence to suggest a three-tier differentiation of speech along the dimension of caste corresponding to high (Brahmin), middle (nonBrahmins) and low (untouchable) castes (Annamalai, 1986). This relationship is further complicated by the fact that in rural areas caste plays a greater role in differentiation of speech styles than in urban areas, where economic/educational status may be a major determinant. Further, as Annamalai (1986) points out:

The Indian languages are noted for their diglossic variation where the spoken variety and the written variety differ substantially

in lexicon, morphology, phonology, and pronunciation but they come closer in the formal spoken context (p. 6)".

The pattern of language use in the multilingual context is also complicated by the fact that Indian multilingualism is sustained by primary (home) and secondary (work place) socialization processes as well as formal schooling, which accounts for nearly a quarter of Indian multilingualism (Annamalai, 1986a), thus giving rise to what Annamalai (1986) characterizes as a "bifocal" multilingualism at the mass and elite levels. The capacity and necessity to use multiple languages require individuals and communities to have multiple identities which they may exhibit by selective code-switching (Dua, 1982). Code-mixing is also used as a strategy for simultaneous expression of multiple identities (Southworth, 1980). This type of language use in a multilingual and multicultural setup gives rise to functionally meaningful pluralism which need not be perceived as a burden since it does not necessarily detract from national unity and identity (Ward & Hewstone, 1985). As for the diversity of speech use with differential values for social interaction, one has to agree with Khubchandani (1966) who writes:

The verbal repertoire of an individual or a group in a plural society is often characterized by a creative use of speech variation in diverse combinations through linguistic stratification (such as, diaglossic complementation, code-switching, code-mixing, bilingualism) in every day life. In other words, diversity of speech on a societal level is not merely a convenience or an "aesthetic" choice (a luxury that can be dispensed with) but it signifies subtlety of purpose in an interaction, where it is highly functional. The human quality of communications in a plural society is bound to suffer when we discard such an asset through the steam roller effects of standardization (p. 28).

The Indian socio-linguistic scene is too complex and diverse for any model based on the ethos of dominant monolingual societies to be applicable. Several social psychological and socio-linguistic generalizations (primarily based on western case studies) regarding linguistic processes, such as, language shift and maintenance, code-switching, code-mixing, nature of linguistic awareness, outcome of specific intergroup contact situations, etc., have been

noted to be grossly unfounded generalizations (Fishman, 1971). Similarly, several features of Indian multilingualism have been hard to explain with the help of theoretical accounts drawn from dominant monolingual societies, and require a "distinctive and relevant theoretical framework" (Dua, 1986, p. 17). Persistence over generations of several isolated minority languages among the tiny migrant communities throughout the country, for example, Bengali in Benaras, Urdu in Mysore, Tamil in Mathura, and Malayalam in Bombay, etc., is difficult to explain using western models since western societies are generally characterized by rapid and somewhat forced assimilation of minority languages and cultures. The Indian society, on the other hand, has traditionally displayed a greater degree of tolerance of linguistic and cultural variation and, as such, acculturation among the migrants has been largely voluntary and gradual (Khubchandani, 1986, p. 20).

Following Weinreich (1953) it has been observed that situations of contact between a majority (often, the high prestige) and a minority language leads to a process of language shift initiated by the synchronic variations in the language use (e.g., Gal, 1979; Labov, 1963, 1965; Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog, 1968). Gal (1979) showed that due to certain socio-economic and social factors leading to synchronic variation in the language use pattern, German was gradually replacing Hungarian in the bilingual *oberwait*. However, in a recent work on Naikans, a Telugu – Malayalam bilingual community which migrated from Andhra to Palghat in Kerala several generations back, Bhuvaneshwari (1986) has shown that internal variation does exist in the language use pattern of this community at the synchronic level, and yet it retains a stable bilingualism by maintaining Telugu over the years. The synchronic variation in language use can lead to outcomes other than language shift; successive generations may retain the language use patterns of their predecessors with internal diversity at the synchronic level, the result ultimately being language maintenance and not shift. Similar observations led Pandit (1977) to claim that in India language maintenance is the norm and language shift a deviation. Several factors intrinsic to Indian multilingualism may lead to such outcomes unusual in terms of western social processes, where languages often compete to override each other in mutual contact situations. Languages playing complementary functions has been a predominant characteristic of Indian multilingualism (Dua, 1986; Southworth, 1980).

Such complementary roles of several languages in the lives of individuals and speech communities is manifested in the assignment of different languages, codes, and varieties to different domains of speech use (e.g., home, market place, intimate intergroup contact situations, etc.). Under such situations switching from one language to another or mixing languages within a discourse unit may be used as selective strategies to fulfil specific communicative functions (Dua, 1984; Gupta, 1978; Kachru, 1978; Sridhar, 1978; Verma, 1976). Thus, in the Indian society multiple languages often coexist without any clear-cut dominance or high-low status relationship in which "language labels are not rigidly associated with fixed 'stereotypes'... language boundaries ... remain fluid and the masses at large do not show overt consciousness of the speech characteristics which bind them to one language or another" (Khubchandani, 1986, p. 20). This makes it even more difficult to determine whether the speech usages of a person or a community (such as, Punjabi settlers in Delhi) belong to one language or the other. This has resulted in pluralistic language identities and vacillating trends in the declaration of the mother tongue. In this process, mass bilingualism in India has never presented any problem for communication (Pandit, 1979), although Weinreich (1957) pointed to a possible communication which arises in such situations on the basis of a low communication index. In fact, Dua and Sharma (1977) and Itagi, Jayaram, and Vani (1984) have shown that bilingualism can contribute to high communication potential in India. Thus, the Indian society offers a different set of values and functional significance of individual and societal bilingualism compared to most western societies. This may be one of the important factors explaining the positive findings with respect to the consequences of bilingualism in India (Mohanty, 1982a, b, in Press; Mohanty & Babu, 1983), although the western studies in this respect are at best uncertain.

On the whole, these features of Indian socio-linguistic realities indicate several qualitative differences from those of western societies posing a challenge to the social scientists in various disciplines. In India, contact situations have displayed strong language maintenance pressures as a result of which minority group languages and language of migrant groups have, in most cases, persisted over generations in spite of synchronic variations in the pattern of speech use, which normally leads to language shift (and ultimately to language death) in many western societies. The languages have also shown remark-

able resistance to being slotted into clearcut dominance-dependence, high-low prestige, and standard-nonstandard dichotomies and roles by often maintaining differentiated patterns and strategies of language use in different domains to suit the communication needs of a multilingual society and by developing pluralistic and fluid language identities following complex patterns of growth. These generalizations may be somewhat oversimplified but they point to the trend in respect of multilingual contact groups in India. The question then is, "to what extent are the existing models of languages and linguistic groups in contact able to accommodate the Indian socio-linguistic realities?" I will now turn to discuss some of the existing models in this respect drawing heavily from an earlier review (Mohanty, 1984).

INTERGROUP RELATIONSHIP AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Given the distinctly human character of language and its scope in attainment and maintenance of cultural distinctiveness, it is not surprising that, for many, language spoken is often the major embodiment of their ethnic identity (Mohanty, 1984). In view of this, concepts like language identity, language loyalty, perceived linguistic vitality, integrative and status orientation in ingroup and outgroup languages, have played major roles in social psychological models of intergroup relationships in the context of linguistic groups. A brief discussion of some of the prominent models follows.

Tajfel's Theory of Social Identity and Intergroup Relations

According to Tajfel (1974, 1978), when members of one group (A) interact with members of another group (B), they compare themselves with group B on a number of value dimensions which are likely to increase ingroup distinctiveness. This is achieved by searching for characteristics of their own in group B. Such strategy of seeking positive group distinctiveness leads not only to a sense of satisfaction in one's own group membership but also to a sense of positive social identity. Whenever the intergroup situation is characterized by status differences, mutual ethnocentrism may be intensified or limited depending upon whether there are perceived alternatives to the existing situation. Perceived cognitive alternatives, in turn,

depend upon the perceived illegitimacy of the intergroup status differences. Satisfaction in social identity is thus a function of the degree of positive comparison in which the perceived intergroup differences are in favor of the ingroup. In situations where the mutual contact groups evaluate each other on similar dimensions and on similar value systems, consensual status systems may develop leading to some stability. Tajfel (1978) identified various strategies which may be followed by the subordinate groups in their efforts to restore, and by the dominant group to protect, their positive distinctiveness. Such strategies toward achievement of positive ethnolinguistic distinctiveness may be helpful in understanding the processes of language shift or maintenance. Recently Ghosh and Huq (1985) showed that Hindus and Muslims in India and Bangladesh are considerably similar in social identity patterns for ingroup evaluation, whereas the outgroup evaluation pattern showed a cross-national difference. The latter was interpreted in terms of non-permeability of rigid group boundaries for Muslims and Hindus in India based on religious, linguistic, and ethnic differences resulting in noncomparability and greater ethnocentric orientation, as opposed to the Bangladeshi situation in which Muslims and Hindus are characterized by common linguistic and ethnic comparability. Thus, the findings support a major contention of Tajfel's theory that with a greater number of common attributes (e.g., language, religion, ethnicity, etc.) there will be less differentiation between the ingroup and outgroup patterns. However, since the minority and low prestige groups should maintain minimal differentiation from the majority and high prestige groups, Tajfel's model fails to explain why Muslims in India tend to create linguistic differences from the outgroup by changing their mother tongue declaration from Hindi to Urdu, which, as has been indicated earlier, increased by 68.7 per cent from 1951 to 1961. In this case religious identity seems to be taking over the language identity. Further, the fluidity of status differences in Indian multilingual setup limits the applicability of Tajfel's model.

Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Intergroup Relationships and Language Maintenance

Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) identified three group vitality factors pertaining to situational and structural variables responsible

for maintenance or shift of an ethnic language. The social status variable includes the socio-political and economic power of the ethnolinguistic group, status of the ethnic language, and relative socio-historical standing of the ingroups relative to the outgroups. The demographic factor refers to the size, concentration and pattern of distribution, and migration of the population of an ethnolinguistic group in a geographical area. The institutional support factor relates to the amount of support a language and its speakers receive from various social institutions, such as, education, mass media, government services and voluntary and organized language movement. An ethnolinguistic group with high vitality, according to this model, would display strong language maintenance pressure with its members showing distinctive and collective patterns of behavior and speech divergence. Along with the concept of objective vitality, Giles and his colleagues (Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal 1981) suggested the concept of perceived or subjective vitality to explain inter-group relationship, language attitude (e.g., Giles & Johnson, 1981; Johnson, 1984; Ryan, Hewston, & Giles, 1984), desire to learn one's ingroup language (Sweeting, 1982), attitude of tolerance toward outgroup language use (Bourhis & Sachdeva, 1984), etc. A study by Giles, Rosenthal, and Young (1985) on Greek and Anglo-Australians provides empirical validation of the concept of "perceived vitality" by showing an isomorphic relationship between objective vitality indices and subjective vitality judgements.

The ethnolinguistic vitality model has been extended by Giles and Byrne (1982) to second language acquisition in contact situations in which language is important in defining group identity and in which the contact groups have some competition for control over economic resources. The vitality model has some potentiality for application in understanding the mechanisms of language shift and maintenance in areas of language contact, although the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality has raised some doubts (e.g., Husband & Khan, 1982). However, considering the complexities of Indian socio-linguistic realities, where stable objective indices of vitality may be difficult to obtain and perceived vitality may be subjected to the effect of a large number of complex and changing conditions, its usefulness for prediction, and explanation of language shift and maintenance tendencies seem somewhat limited. The vacillating trends in the mother tongue declaration and pluralistic nature of language identities in India may pose a formidable problem for

Giles' model. Further, the relationship between mutual perception of ingroup and outgroup vitality has to be explored since mutual perception of relative vitality may be more important than the simple onesided conceptualization of perceived vitality. Nevertheless, this model has promising application in the Indian context and should be explored further.

Clement's Model of Second Language Proficiency

Although Clement's (1980) model was primarily developed in the context of communicative competence in a second language, it is relevant since it takes into account ethnicity and contact between the individual and the second language community. Clement postulated two levels of social motivational processes—primary and secondary. The primary motivational process is defined by “the antagonistic interplay of the individual's affective predispositions toward the other culture (‘integrativeness’) and the fear that learning and using the second language might lead to the loss of the first language and culture (‘fear of assimilation’). These two tendencies are hypothesized to interact subtractively (i.e., ‘integrativeness’ minus ‘fear of assimilation’, Labrie & Clement, 1986, p. 269). The resulting primary motivational tendency leads to the secondary motivation of establishing contact with the second language group and for development of communicative competence in the second language. The degree of secondary motivation depends upon the quality and frequency of contact between the individual and the second language group. The model assumes that contact with a second language group may be a matter of choice, thus, making it less valid for the Indian situation. Clement's model has been subsequently elaborated (Clement, 1984) to integrate the concept of perceived ethnolinguistic vitality, hypothesized to influence integrative tendencies in a positive and monotonic manner. The relationship between perceived relative vitality and fear of assimilation, however, is conceptualized to be more complex.

When the first language group is perceived to be dominant, fear of assimilation should not be experienced. As the second language group crosses over the equality threshold and becomes dominant, fear of assimilation should increase until the relative vitality of the second language group becomes so potent that the

individual actually *wishes* to become assimilated — and then it should decrease. In other words, when relative vitality exceeds the equilibrium point such that the second language group becomes dominant, its relationship to fear of assimilation should follow an inverted 'U' curve (Labrie & Clement, 1986, p. 271).

This model appears to be more applicable to the multilingual situation as in India, although initial tests of the model with Franco-phone students learning English in Canada did not yield much support for the inclusion of the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality in the model (Labrie & Clement, 1986). Clement's model fails to take into account the concept of integrative and instrumental bases of attitudes toward the second language (Lambert, 1969), and, on the whole, has difficulty in accounting for the complexities of inter-group contact situations in which the individual grows up learning more than one language, developing balanced and, often, native like competence in them. The model seems more appropriate for the dominant monolingual setup in which learning a second language or developing contact with a second language community may be a matter of individual choice.

The preceding review has shown the predominant monocultural, monolingual bias in their scope rendering them less valid for the Indian multilingual context, where a theory of *languages* is more valid than a theory of language (Steiner, 1975). These models have failed to incorporate complex multidimensional aspects of intergroup relationship characteristic of the Indian milieu. Further, even in a relatively simple two-group contact situation the resultant pattern of language use, shift, or maintenance is bound to be determined by mutual perception of ingroup and outgroup values and the identity of the individual and his community vis-à-vis that of the other community. Thus, any model explaining and predicting the outcomes of prolonged contact between ethnolinguistic groups must take into account the bidirectionality of a community's values and attitudes toward own identity and toward that of the other contact groups. In this context models proposed by Berry (1980, 1984) and Schermerhorn (1970) deserve some serious consideration

Berry's Model of Cultural Relations in Plural Societies

Berry (1974, 1980, 1984) has suggested a model of group and

individual relations in the context of pluralistic societies like Canada. According to Berry, individuals and groups in plural societies have two choices to make — one pertaining to maintenance and fostering of one’s ethnic distinctiveness in society, and the other in respect of the desirability of ethnic contact with the out-group. The group, depending on several conditions, may or may not favor retention of its own cultural identity and may accept or reject a positive relationship with the larger society, giving rise to four possible outcomes as shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

A model of possible forms of relations in plural societies (Based on Berry, 1984).

<i>Question 2</i> Are positive relations with the larger society of value, and to be sought?	<i>Question 1</i> Are cultural identity and customs of value to be retained?	
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
	<i>Yes Integration</i>	<i>Assimilation</i>
	<i>No Segregation/ Separation</i>	<i>Deculturation</i>

The four outcomes, viz., *assimilation*, *integration*, *segregation/separation*, and *deculturation* show the varieties of cultural relations and acculturation. The two dimensions of group relations emphasized in the model as well as by other social psychologists are social differentiation (Tajfel, 1978) and contact (Amir, 1969, 1976). Of the four outcomes, assimilation refers to relinquishing of one’s cultural identity in favor of the values and norms of the larger (dominant) society and the merging of nondominant (minority) groups into the “mainstream” (as in the “melting pot”). As regards languages in contact, the assimilation outcome is one of complete language shift. In the event of the minority group choosing to retain its own cultural identity moving at the same time in the direction of becoming an integral part of a larger society, the outcome is integration with the smaller ethnic groups cooperating within the larger social system (the “mosaic”). When the groups representing linguistic varieties enter into integrative relationship, a stable (and healthy) form of multilingualism results leading to language maintenance with no exaggerated effort for distinctiveness nor with any negative effect

for the other language. In such a situation, languages coexist without any clear dominant relationship; there are free mutual borrowings enriching each of the languages. Tendency toward maintenance of ethnic identity and values accompanied by a lack of positive relationship with the larger society, results in a form of intergroup relationship characterized either by segregation or separation, depending upon whether the dominant or nondominant group has control over the situation.

According to Berry (1984), segregation is the outcome of the dominant group's control (in keeping people in "their place") and separation is the outcome of the nondominant group's control over the situation (as in the case of "separatist" movements). In case of a language contact situation, segregation tendency is reflected in the minority language becoming enclavic or isolated and separation is reflected in the growth of a strong language nationalism coupled with forces of separatism. The last of the four outcomes is the minority group members feeling alienated from the majority culture alongwith a loss of ingroup identity. According to Berry (1984), deculturation is accompanied by collective and individual confusion and anxiety, and characterized by alienation, acculturative stress, and lack of psychological and cultural contact with either the traditional culture or the larger society. Imposed by the dominant group, deculturation amounts to ethnocide, and stabilized in a nondominant group it leads to "marginality" (Stonequist, 1935). In case of language relationships, ethnocide is reflected in forced loss of language and "marginality" in "multiple semilingualism".

However, any move to force language loss in modern societies is likely to be met with a lot of resistance and consequent instability. It may give rise to psychological reactance (Brehm, 1972), but without a stable direction. The "pressure cooker" metaphor rather than "the melting pot" more adequately describes the enforced assimilation and language shift. Berry's model of cultural relation in plural societies may be used as a model for analyses of the processes of language shift and maintenance. Interestingly, Spolsky's (1981) analysis of bilingualism and biliteracy appears to be fundamentally congruent with Berry's model. Triandis (1985), in discussing the findings of Ward and Hewston (1985) has shown the applicability of Berry's model to ethnolinguistic analysis of multilingual, multicultural societies in Singapore and Malaysia.

Berry's model, however, is limited in its capacity to explain and

predict the course of intergroup relationship because it does not take into account the attitude of the dominant or the majority group toward the minority group(s). In seeking to explain the degree of integration of migrant communities in the host societies, Schermerhorn (1970) questioned the validity of the analyses of the intergroup relationship in such contexts without due consideration to the reaction of the superordinate (host) group. According to him, the nature of interaction between the subordinate and the superordinate groups depends on the mutual reaction of the groups toward each other. Schermerhorn (1970) sought to explain the nature of integration of various minority communities into the host culture in terms of three variables, viz., the nature of interaction (or the nature of contact situation, such as, those due to migration, colonization and annexation), the degree of enclosure (i.e., the degree of separation or isolation of the minority groups from the different social institutions), and the degree of control of the dominant group over the minority groups' access to scarce resources. Depending upon these factors either of two trends of interaction may be created among the interacting groups. The centripetal (C_p) trend makes the group accept common values and a way of life driving the group members towards achieving common societal objectives; the centrifugal (C_f) trend creates a separation tendency by the group members seeking to preserve and maintain their cultural identity. Schermerhorn (1970) suggested four patterns of relationship depending upon the C_p or C_f orientations of the subordinate or the minority groups as perceived by themselves, and of the superordinates or the dominant groups as they perceive the subordinates. The four outcomes are shown in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2

Four-fold outcomes in intergroup relationship between minority and majority groups.

Cell A		Cell B		Cell C		Cell D	
C_p	Super ordinate	C_f	Super ordinate	C_f	Super ordinate	C_p	Super ordinate
C_p	subordinate	C_f	subordinate	C_p	subordinate	C_f	subordinate
(Assimilation)		(Pluralism/ Autonomy)		(Segregation with resistance)		(Forced Assimilation with resistance)	

Congruent orientations in the form of C_p trends on part of subordinate groups lead to assimilation outcome which is characterized

by a language shift. In the form of C_f trends, on part of both the groups, the orientations lead to cultural pluralism and relative autonomy of the minority groups characterized by language maintenance and stable forms of bi-/multilingualism. Incongruent orientations in the form of C_f and C_p trends, on the part of superordinate and subordinate groups respectively, lead to forced segregation tendencies with resistance, whereas C_p and C_f trends on the part of superordinate and subordinate groups respectively lead to forced assimilation with resistance. In the latter case, the majority group seeks to assimilate minority cultures or languages by acculturation and language shift, whereas the minority groups themselves seek to maintain cultural and linguistic distinctiveness. Schermerhorn's (1970) model is quite useful in understanding the pattern of intergroup or interlanguage relationships in situations of contact. Srivastava and Gupta (1986) have demonstrated the application of the model in understanding the process of language shift in multilingual urban settings in India. However, as Figure 2 has shown, outcomes are only points in the process of a changing and dynamic relationship between the minority and majority groups which is simultaneously affected by several extraneous influences.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MULTILINGUALISM IN INDIA

Considering the complexity and the dynamic nature of Indian multilingualism, illustrative models of social psychological aspects of language contact have only limited applicability. The language contact situations in India are characterized by a number of complex social, psychological and cultural factors, all of which must be taken into account if the outcomes of different contact situations are to be properly understood. While a stable form of multilingualism is a desired goal in India, stability of intergroup relationship has been threatened by rigidity in specification of the domains of language use. In a multilingual society like India, exclusive association of certain languages (e.g., English or Hindi) with socio-economic mobility can be seen as a precipitating factor in language shift since, as Eckert (1980) has pointed out, such types of separate and unequal diglossia lead to language shift. However, with a solidarity or centripetal orientation, the low prestige speech varieties, which have domain specificity in functionally less important areas, may still show a great deal of resistance to shift-pressure. Ryan (1979)

has suggested that both status and solidarity orientations are important dimensions of language ethnicity. The value of a speech variety for social advancement of its user determines its status or prestige, whereas solidarity refers to its value as a basis for language user's identification with a group. These dimensions have also been referred to as instrumental or integrative motivation. Language integration in a stable form of multilingualism is associated with mutual solidarity orientation of the minority and majority groups whereas language shift or assimilation is characterized by status orientation with the dominant language becoming more instrumental or status oriented. The application of these social psychological concepts is illustrated by Mohanty (1984) in the following analysis.

... in a country like India, integration can be promoted neither by a majority (Hindi or English) oriented practice nor by a minority (regional language only) oriented approach but by enhancing the value of both the varieties in a stable multilingual mosaic. This can be accomplished by promoting the formal use of the majority (or major) language in formal and intergroup communication and informal use of minority (regional) languages in less formal and more person-oriented ingroup context but, at the same time, delinking use of languages (and their domain specificity) from status or prestige orientation. The key to a healthy multilingual state lies in assisting minority language users to feel comfortable with use of both the major and minority language varieties in a manner congruent with integration with the mainstream and identification with his own group (p. 26)

An Illustrative Case Study

The usefulness and limitations of the insights drawn from the preceding analysis of the Indian socio-linguistic scene and social psychological aspects of language will be illustrated on the basis of some preliminary observations among the Kond tribals in Phulbani district of Orissa, and on the analysis of the pattern of language shift, bilingualism, and trends of mother tongue declaration among them. The Konds constitute the majority as a tribal group in Phulbani district. Kui, the exclusive traditional language of the Konds, belongs to the Indo-Dravidian family of languages, and is used by about 511,000 (1961 Census) speakers as their mother tongue. The

pattern of language shift among the Konds is rather unusual. The Konds are in close contact with the Oriya speakers (most of whom are low caste Sundhis), particularly in the rural areas. It seems the Sundhis, evenly spread all over the Kond areas, may have moved into or close to the Kond villages for business (vending and money lending) purposes. The Konds are settled cultivators who also engage in a lot of seasonal gathering from the surrounding forests.

Thus, the contact group for the Konds is mostly the Sundhi-Oriya group, evenly spread over the Kond settlement areas. The Konds also come in contact with other migrant Oriyas in village markets and nearby business areas. Thus, one would expect the process of language shift toward Oriya with transitional and unstable forms of bilingualism to be evenly distributed throughout the Phulbani district with patterns of Kui-Oriya use showing clear synchronic variation. However, such trends toward language shift is neither widely spread throughout the district nor is it manifested close to border areas where the degree of interethnic contact is greater. The shift in language use shows a clear-cut geographical split with the areas between Khajuripada and Phulbani, i.e., the northeast regions of the district showing a complete transition to Oriya monolingualism, and the remaining parts of the district, i.e., areas southwest of Phulbani town toward G. Udayagiri showing Kui-Oriya bilingualism. The Kui-Oriya bilinguals are characterized by clear-cut domain specificity in the pattern of language use, code-switching, and also code-mixing. They use Kui exclusively for home and intergroup communication and Oriya for outgroup communication. The Kond children in these areas grow up learning Kui in their homes and Oriya in play and peer group situations, so that by the age of 6 years these Kond children can display basic interpersonal communication skills in both languages. In spite of such differences in their language use, Konds perceive each other as a close ingroup and the two groups (monolinguals and bilinguals) do not show any difference on other socio-cultural dimensions (Mohanty, 1982a, b, 1984). Thus, the pattern of language shift among the Konds poses a problem for socio-linguistic and social psychological models of such process. Instead of being centred around the contact regions and progressing gradually to the peripheral zones, the process of language shift appears to have been concentrated in certain geographical regions where there has been total language shift and gradual in other regions where a (stable?) form of bilingualism prevails among all

the Konds. Such a process throws a challenge to the existing socio-linguistic models of language shift and maintenance.

Although, as has been pointed out, the mother tongue declarations in the census, are subjected to a number of complex pressure factors, a clear trend of decrease in the number of Kui speakers between 1931 and 1951 (from 690,600 to 207,000) followed by an increase in 1961 (511,000) shows that perhaps the process of language shift, initiated by the entry of high power Oriya speaking officers of the British rule and by education in Oriya, may have been frozen after independence, following which, as Khubchandani (1986) observes, there may have been an emergence of an exclusive linguistic identity among the minority language groups. Such a frozen language shift process would perhaps account for the divergent bilingualism-monolingualism pattern among the Konds. However, at this point this is only a conjecture and needs further investigation. Besides, while such simplistic analysis is only suggestive, the situation certainly calls for an analysis of greater complexity since, between 1961 and 1971 the number of Kui speakers has dropped again by 31 per cent (from 511,000 to 350,000) congruent, of course, to the general national trend for all tribal languages. Such vacillating trends of mother tongue declaration among the Konds may be due to a combination of factors, including language shift, changing patterns of language identity, and increasing Oriya literacy among the Konds (which makes them declare as mother tongue a language whose script is used for writing), and change in perceived instrumental value of the dominant language.

Since instrumental and integrative components of language attitude are conceptually close to extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, one can argue, following Deci's (1971) model, that as a language becomes more significant for its instrumental functions, such as, value for job, status, education, and social mobility its intrinsic appeal or its perceived integrative function may decline. In other words, as a language becomes more and more instrumental for social mobility, its intrinsic significance for a person's language identity may become less and less salient thus causing, at some point, a switch in its declared status as mother tongue. This characterization, however, is only a hypothesis but it has the potentiality of explaining the dramatic changes in the declaration of Kui as a mother tongue. Interestingly enough, this hypothesis would also explain the fluidity of mother tongue declarations observed only in

the HUP region and not in the southeastern part of India (Khubchandni, 1986). The Hindi identity in the HUP region in 1951 has been reflected in the declaration of Hindi as a mother tongue but once Hindi, recognized as the national language, came to acquire significant instrumental functions its intrinsic appeal perhaps gave way to regional or religion based languages. As a result, in states like Bihar, the Hindi population decreased in 1961 to 44.3 per cent (from 81 per cent in 1951) and the population in Bihari languages increased from 0.3 per cent to 35.4 per cent. Khubchandani (1986) also observes that the switch in declaration of mother tongues from Hindi to regional languages was more in urban areas than in the rural ones. This is contrary to what one would expect since the urban population is more proficient in Hindi compared to the rural, which is more proficient in the regional languages such as Bhojpuri, Maithili, etc.

The extrinsic/intrinsic distinction in language attitude can thus explain these unusual trends in mother tongue declaration. Any social psychological model of languages in contact has to come to grips with such phenomena, and has perhaps to examine a possible mutually negative relationship between instrumental or extrinsic and integrative or intrinsic aspects of language attitude. It is rather surprising that studies dealing with integrative and instrumental aspects of language attitudes in explanation of the process of language shift have not looked into the interrelationship between these two components

In a recent analysis of attitude toward maintenance of ingroup and outgroup linguistic and cultural identities among the Kond tribals and nontribals of Phulbani (Mohanty, 1987), the tribals were found to be displaying integrative orientation by a positive evaluation of the maintenance of their own language (Kui) and culture, and by viewing favorably the language (Oriya) and culture of the nontribals. Within the tribal group, the bilinguals displayed greater integrative tendency compared to the monolinguals. The nontribals, on the other hand, displayed a segregation tendency through a positive evaluation of their own language (Oriya) and culture and negative evaluation of the tribal (Kui) language and culture. Within the sample of nontribals, the bilinguals were less segregation oriented compared to the monolinguals. Thus, the relationship between the Konds, as the nondominant group, and the nontribals can be characterized as leading to an outcome of segregation with resistance from the nondominant tribal group (Cell C in Fig.2) in terms of Schermer-

horn's (1970) model. The implications of the findings for the maintenance of the Kui language is being further explored in light of such factors. It is also interesting to note that within the two groups (tribals and nontribals), the Kui-Oriya bilinguals were better integrated with the outgroup compared to the Oriya monolinguals. This finding is of practical significance since it shows that better integration in a contact situation like this can be achieved through promotion of bilingualism. The applicability of the ethnolinguistic vitality model to the Kond situation is also to be examined. But, it is hard to establish a clear-cut perceived relative vitality relationship between the Oriyas and the Konds because, although the former may be more dominant in terms of economic criteria and higher status of the Oriya language, the latter is clearly more dominant in terms of social and segregative practices. The observed (Mohanty, 1987) relationship between the Konds and nontribals in Phulbani, with the Konds showing C_p trends and stable nontribal showing C_f trends, however, need not be taken as stable or final since any force, such as, language planning toward maintenance of the Kui language and tribal culture can be predicted to move the intergroup relation in Phulbani in the direction of stable bilingualism in a pluralistic system (Cell B in Fig. 2). Similarly, in the event of language planning and other social forces operating toward a shift of Kui language and acculturation, movement toward assimilation of the tribals and loss of the Kui language (Cell A in Fig. 2) can be expected. Hence, although pluralistic models like those of Berry (1984) and Schermerhorn (1970) have some applicability in understanding the variations in intergroup relationship in situations of language contact in the Indian multilingual scene, the role of several other complex factors has to be considered before the outcome of a language contact situation can be fully explained.

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Planning for Poverty Reduction in India

A. C. MINOCHA

Poverty and undernourishment is a widespread malaise in India. A large proportion of the population lives below the poverty line or any acceptable minimum standard of living. Despite more than three decades of "planned development", achieving a trend rate of growth of 3.6 per cent per annum, an agricultural growth rate of 2.7 per cent and an industrial growth rate of 6 per cent and reaching a phase of high rate of saving and investment, no major dent seems to have been made on the twin problems of poverty and unemployment (Mishra & Sundram, 1986). These problems cannot be viewed in isolation since they are inextricably linked with the whole process of planning, the institutional structure, the class character of those who are in power, and the structural changes that have taken place in the economy. It is not a problem that can be tackled by a few supplementary programs but is related to the whole strategy of planning and development.

POVERTY: RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE

Poverty can be conceived both in absolute as well as in relative terms. According to the absolute concept, all households or individuals whose income or consumption levels fall below some minimum standard are classified as poor, and the proportion of such households to the total number of households gives the index of absolute poverty. This concept is not related to the distribution of income/consumption expenditure in the country. In India, we have adopted the absolute concept of poverty and the poor are defined as those whose per capita calorie intake falls below the normative calorie intake of 2100 per day in urban areas and 2400 in rural areas.

(Subbarao 1985 Hanumantharao 1975) This has been translated in monetary terms to determine the per capita expenditure to purchase food grains providing the required intake. This monetary norm has been shifted upward with the rise in prices. The poverty line of Rs. 3500 per annum for an average family of five, constituted the official cut-off point for measuring the population below the poverty line throughout the sixth Five Year Plan, even though the purchasing power was considerably eroded since the beginning of the sixth plan. In the seventh plan the cut-off point is the annual income of Rs. 6400 per household which comes to about Rs.106 per capita per month. Considered in this sense, most of the landless laborers, small and marginal farmers, scheduled caste and tribe population, rural artisans, and the urban informal sector would belong to the category of the poor in the country, (Bandopadhyaya, 1985, 1986). The concept of absolute poverty takes into account only the calorie intake. If we include minimum clothing, shelter, health, pulses, edible oils along with cereals as the main source of calories, a much larger percentage of the population would be below the poverty line than what is estimated on the basis of the cut-off point determined by the calorie intake alone. The outward manifestations of absolute poverty are malnutrition, illiteracy, slums, inaccessibility to basic needs, high infant mortality rate, and the like.

On the basis of the National Sample Survey (NSS) of Consumer Expenditure Distribution done in 32 Round (1977-78) and 38 Round (1983-84), the Planning Commission made the following estimates of poverty ratios in the seventh plan document.

TABLE 1

Poverty ratios (per cent)

Year	Rural	Urban	Total	Number of poor (millions)		
				Rural	Urban	Total
1977-78	51.2	38.2	48.3	253.1	53.7	306.8
1984-85	39.9	27.7	36.9	222.2	50.5	272.7
1989-90	28.2	19.3	25.8	168.6	42.2	210.8

Source: Seventh Five Year Plan, 1984, Vol. II

Based on the National Sample Survey data for 1983, the Department of Rural Development, Government of India, classified families living below the poverty line in rural areas into four broad categories:

TABLE 2

Distribution of families below poverty line

Category	Approximate number of families	Annual family income range (Rs.)
Destitutes	0.99 million	0-2265
Very very poor	6.13 million	2266-3500
Very poor	16.93 million	3501-5000
Poor	20.25 million	5001-6400

Source: Seventh Five Year Plan, 1984, Vol. 1

The above data relating to absolute poverty reveal the magnitude of the problem. Absolute poverty is demoralizing, humiliating, depressing, and causes deprivation of basic physical, psychological, and socio-cultural facilities. Poverty is an economic concept whereas deprivation is an economic-psychological concept. When we think of deprivation, immediately a vital question surfaces: who are the exploiters who deprive the poor of their basic necessities? Obviously those who take a large share of the output and income, and also the system which facilitates and perpetuates such a deprivation.

The relative concept of poverty is related to inequalities of income and wealth. In a country, where all persons have attained a standard of living above the prescribed norm, there may be no absolute poverty but only relative poverty, due to the wide inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth (Paul, 1988; Thakur, 1985, 1986). In India there is widespread absolute poverty as well as relative poverty.

Absolute and relative poverty are interrelated. We cannot tackle the problem of absolute poverty without making an assault on relative poverty. In our five year plans, our emphasis has been more on the high rate of growth and less on institutional changes which are necessary to erode the inequitable, unjust, and exploitative socio-economic structure. Planning is not a mere exercise in economics

but also in sociology and politics. A plan is not merely an exercise in resource allocation but also a deliberate attempt to bring about institutional changes (Kurian, 1987). Moreover, we are planning in a market economy which does not care for poverty and unemployment. A market economy stimulates consumption and the psychology of acquisitiveness. The demonstration effect of the consumption standards of the rich has a demoralizing effect on the poor unless they are politically conscious and become an organized force. In the face of widening inequalities, our production structure has become luxury-oriented, diverting scarce resources from articles of mass consumption to luxury goods, from public transport systems to motor cars, from less energy intensive goods to more energy intensive goods, from cheaper houses for the masses to luxury constructions for the rich, from coarse grains to superior grains. The rich make a larger draft on scarce resources which are preempted by them in the market economy. In this way, there is the psychology of copying the living standards of the rich. The monopolies and large business houses spend crores of rupees on advertisement and publicity to establish the superiority of their respective products. The multinationals create the superiority of their respective brand names and thereby impose the culture of the developed capitalist world on the Third World countries. All this accentuates relative poverty. But at the same time, this relative poverty can create class consciousness among the poor, the unemployed, and the depressed provided they are politically organized. To create vested interests among the poor, some crumbs may be thrown to them so that the existing socio-economic structure does not collapse.

Poverty cannot be viewed merely as an objective phenomenon, as most of the economists do. The poor are not a homogeneous mass but manifest an extremely heterogeneous picture on the psychological dimensions. Economic indicators may not reveal the subjective perceptions of poverty of an individual. For an individual, perceived poverty has greater meaning, and thus they may not respond uniformly to the anti-poverty programs of the Government. A major weakness of these programs stems from the fact that they do not take into account the individual perception of poverty, and that they do consider the poor as a homogeneous mass. Even the IRDP is a centrally sponsored program to be implemented in a uniform manner throughout the country, ignoring regional, individual, and social variations (Harway, 1988; Rath, 1986). The present studies

of poverty in India, by and large, have not adopted an integrated view of poverty, encompassing economic, psychological, and physical aspects.

Satisfaction is largely a psychological phenomenon. The economist's measurement of success or otherwise of the anti-poverty programs is confined to estimating the incremental income out of the assets created through loans and subsidies. Such incremental incomes may not give him adequate satisfaction because of his dissatisfaction in a regime of relative inequalities.

At the macro-level, the interdisciplinary approach may not be as feasible as at the micro-level. At the micro-level, we have to pay adequate attention to the psychological conceptualization of poverty. It is at this level that there can be a collaboration between the economists, psychologists, and other social scientists in making in-depth studies of poverty. Unfortunately, even the present concurrent evaluations of the IRDP do not make an attempt in the direction of the individual's subjective perception of poverty, and are mostly couched in terms of economic indicators.

Development cannot be reduced to a unidimensional analysis with numerically specified coordinates, as most of the economists have done. We have to go beyond the scope of economic analysis and theory. Development does not merely imply economic change but also includes attitudinal, social, and institutional changes. Individuals who should constitute the center of all policies and programs cannot be fragmented. Hence a multidisciplinary approach is needed to tackle their problems.

It has been advocated by some psychologists that the economic measure of poverty should be supplemented by the psychological dimension of poverty in terms of an individual's subjective perception of his economic aspect of life; some have even reported the positive relationship between objective and perceived poverty (Pandey & Singh, 1985). There is a gap between objective poverty and its perceived version, although the perception of poverty in a country like India is considerably influenced by the fatalistic outlook generated by religion and also by the demonstration effect of high consumption levels. The two, however, may not be identical.

The psychologists have, by and large, studied the behavioral pattern of the poor which may be the outcome of deprivation (Furnham, 1982; Leonard, 1983; Pandey, Kakkar, & Bohra, 1982). It seems that they have a limited role to play in poverty alleviation.

Poverty is essentially an objective phenomenon and, therefore, objective measures are to be deployed, though the psychology of the poor plays an important role in perpetuating their poverty or inducing them to come out of the poverty syndrome (Pareek, 1970, Sinha, Jain, & Pandey, 1980). In creating class consciousness, subjective factors play an important role. In the implementation of development programs, we need to overcome the psychological barriers. In a traditional society like ours, innovations are likely to be resisted. Psychological barriers are more important than other limiting factors. In the implementation of our rural development programs, much less attention is paid to the problem of overcoming psychological barriers than the diffusion of technology and other innovations.

The "trickle down" effects of growth on the poor have been very limited because of the inequitable institutional structure. We have devised a number of supplementary programs to reduce absolute poverty but without touching relative poverty. Even if absolute poverty is eradicated, relative poverty will create a psychological gap between the rich and the poor.

INEQUALITY IN INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Inequalities in the distribution of income and assets accentuate not only relative poverty but also psychological inequalities and dissatisfaction among the masses. Data in respect to income and asset distribution are very scanty and, also, may not be considered reliable. But, whatever scanty data are made available by the NSSO and other agencies, they are indicative of the growing inequalities in the distribution of income and assets in the country.

It is clear from Table 3 that the average income per household of the top 10 per cent of the households is nearly 12 times higher than that of the bottom 10 per cent. If we take the top 5 per cent of the households in the country, we find that the average income of such households is 14 times higher than the bottom 10 per cent with respect to urban households and 12 times with respect to rural ones.

Table 4 presents estimates of income distribution of households. It gives the percentage shares in total purchasing power of different income brackets.

TABLE 3

Estimates of average income per household in 1983

<i>Income brackets 10% groups</i>	<i>Urban (Rs.)</i>	<i>Rural (Rs.)</i>	<i>All-India (Rs.)</i>
0-10	4763	2725	3111
10-20	7455	4143	4735
20-30	9318	5223	6088
30-40	11182	6323	7441
40-50	13253	7522	8749
50-60	15738	8830	10418
60-70	19465	10466	12582
70-80	22812	11864	14559
80-90	30942	14462	18971
90-100	45729	27341	34341
95-100	57241	30452	38583

Estimates based on NSS Rounds

TABLE 4

Percentage of shares of different income groups of households in total income (1983)

<i>Income group</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>All-India</i>	<i>All-India</i>
0-10	2.5	2.3	2.3	7.0
10-20	3.8	3.6	3.5	
20-30	4.8	4.5	4.5	
30-40	5.8	5.4	5.5	13.9
40-50	6.9	6.4	6.5	
50-60	8.1	7.6	7.7	
60-70	9.6	9.4	9.3	20.5
70-80	11.8	11.5	11.5	
80-90	15.1	15.9	15.5	
90-100	31.5	33.6	33.8	33.6

Thus, 50 per cent of the country's purchasing power is concentrated in the hands of top 20 per cent of the households. Also, about 34 per cent of the national purchasing power is located in the hands of top 10 per cent of the households. The actual concentration may be much greater as the above data do not take into account the black economy of the country.

Table 5 presents the average per capita monthly expenditure of the bottom 10 per cent expenditure category as well as of the top 10 per cent of the expenditure category for the years 1977-78 and 1983-84, for the rural and urban areas separately.

TABLE 5

Average per capita monthly expenditure

<i>Expenditure class</i>	<i>1977-78</i>		<i>1983-84</i>	
	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>
1 Average per capita monthly expenditure of bottom 10% of population (Rs.)	23.90	31.73	42.62	57.62
2 Average per capita monthly expenditure of top 10% of population in Rs.	195.03	271.24	275.61	439.93
Ratio of 2 to 1	8.16	8.55	6.47	7.68

The data indicate some increase in the per capita expenditure of the bottom 10 per cent of both the rural and urban population between 1977-78 and 1983-84, but the extent of inequalities between the per capita monthly expenditure of the bottom 10 per cent and the top 10 per cent is very wide.

Table 6 gives a picture of asset distribution in rural and urban India separately as well as for the country as whole.

Nearly 8 per cent of the rural households belonging to the asset group of Rs. one lakh and above owned 45.6 per cent of the total assets of rural households. On the other hand, 38.5 per cent of the rural households in the asset group of less than Rs. 10,000 owned only 4.5 per cent of the total rural assets. The pattern of distribution of assets in urban areas is more or less similar. But there seems to be a greater degree of skewness in the distribution of assets in the urban areas as compared to the rural ones. The coefficient of concentration of assets of cultivator households has been stubbornly stable at .5976 in 1960-61, .5847 in 1971-72, and .5831 in 1981-82. The agricultural Census of 1980-81 shows that agricultural holdings above 10 hectares each, though only 2.4 per cent of total number

TABLE 6

Percent distribution of households and assets

Asset group Rs	Rural households		Urban households		All-India	
	A	B	A	B	A	B
1 Upto Rs. 10,000	38.5	4.5	44.8	3.6	40.0	4.3
2 10,000 to 1 lakh	53.6	49.9	45.6	40.1	51.6	47.3
3 One lakh and above	7.9	45.6	9.6	56.3	8.4	48.4

Source : Reserve Bank of India Bulletin. Vol-XL, No.6. June 1986.

A = Percentage of households in each asset group.

B = Share of value of assets in each group to value of total assets.

of holdings, own 22.8 per cent of the total area. This disparity exists despite land reform measures by the government.

Redistributive land reforms are considered necessary for the success of anti-poverty programs as they provide the much needed asset base for a large number of rural landless poor. As a result of implementation of land ceiling laws, a total of 76,06,131 acres of land had been declared surplus till December, 1986. Even this small, declared surplus area has not been distributed, as will be evident from Table 7.

In urban areas, the principal instrument used to influence the distribution of assets is essentially fiscal in character, progressive taxes on income, and wealth. But the extent of evasion of these taxes is so large that the impact seems to be only marginal. The relative importance of direct taxes in the tax revenue of the Government of India has declined, despite the emphasis on its increase in the long-term fiscal policy. The ratio of direct and indirect taxes in the total tax revenue came down from 37:63 in 1950-51 to 30:70 in 1960-61, and 17:83 in 1984-85. The progressiveness of our direct tax structure has been considerably reduced. The land ceiling act has not been given a fair trial. Our concept of welfare implies an attempt to reduce poverty and unemployment without affecting the productive system and asset distribution. Monopoly control measures were not adequately implemented over time. The unjust and inequitable institutional structure has become so powerful that it is shaping the direction of our economic policies.

TABLE 7

Distribution of area

<i>Type of Area</i>	<i>In acres</i>	<i>Percentage of area declared surplus</i>
(a) Area declared surplus	7606131	
(b) Area possession taken of	5820723	76.53
(c) Area distributed	4465960	58.71
(d) Area declared surplus but possession not taken (a-b)	1785408	23.47
(e) Area possession taken of but distributed (b-c)	1354763	17.81
(f) Area declared surplus but not distributed (a-c)	3140171	41.28
(g) Area not available for distribution due to litigation	1448120	19.03
(h) Transferred/reserved for public purposes	337205	4.43
(i) Unfit for cultivation	382639	5.03
(j) Due to misc. reasons	732650	9.63
Total (g + h + i + j)	2900614	38.13
(k) Net area available for distribution (f-k)	239557	3.15

Source: Annual report. Department of Rural Development, Ministry of Agriculture, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1986-87, p. 31.

In a situation of unequal distribution of incomes and assets the scarce resources of the country are bound to be diverted to the production of goods and services which are, by and large, consumed by the relatively richer sections of the community. The production structure is bound to become luxury oriented and energy intensive, leaving little resources for the production of articles of mass consumption. In a market economy in which we are "planning", prices are rising because of the pressure of demand on limited resources. The poor are at a disadvantage as they are not hedged against inflation.

RESPONSE TO POVERTY

How are we tackling the problem of poverty in our five year plans? As already observed, we have devised a few supplementary

programs for poverty alleviation without making any assault on inequalities. The major contradiction of Indian planning is that we want to establish a socialist pattern of society in a capitalist mode of production. Our Constitution has guaranteed the right to property but not the right to work. Perhaps we forget that we cannot establish the system of distribution of our choice. Distribution emerges from the mode of production.

The basic strategy for poverty alleviation in our five year plans can be broadly divided into three phases. In the first phase, the strategy was based on the faith in the trickle down effects of growth on the poor. We thought that poverty and unemployment would be automatically reduced if we achieved a high rate of growth. After the three five year plans we realized that the limited growth we had achieved did not yield the desired trickle down effects. The benefits, by and large, were cornered by the propertied class, the industrialists, large farmers, upper echelons of the bureaucracy, and the professionals. Because of our disillusionment with the trickle down effect, the emphasis was shifted to target oriented redistributive programs, but again without changing much of the institutional structure. The third phase represents a compromise between the earlier two phases. In this phase, certain areas of the economy have been located where faster growth is seen to have trickle down effects on the poor, such as, small and village industries, education, public health, slum improvement, etc. But there are certain areas where, because of institutional and other non-economic factors, growth has failed to trickle down. In such areas, special programs have been designed with a view to alleviating poverty. Some of these "target group" programs are, the Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP), the 20-Point Program, the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Program (RLEGP), the National Rural Employment Program (NREP), and the Training Rural Youth for Self-Employment Program (TRYSEM). Since these programs are being implemented in the absence of comprehensive planning and in the framework of iniquitous socio-economic structure, the benefits are not accruing to the poor as visualized in these programs.

CONCLUSION

It seems that poverty reduction and employment generation have to emerge from the very process of production. The dichotomy

between growth and redistribution is the major contradiction in the operating mode of production, with the result that we are adopting two sets of policies, one for achieving a high rate of growth and the other for reducing poverty. A few crumbs are being thrown to the poor amidst large benefits accruing to the upper strata of society. Even among the poor, vested interests have been created so as to perpetuate the existing system. When the orientation of the bureaucracy is the same, the class character of the government is the same, and the institutional framework is the same, how can the special programs intended for the poor be implemented effectively and successfully?

The instruments of economic policy that we have devised in the first two decades of planning have been diluted to subserve the interest of the dominant private sector. In our mixed economy, the dominance of the private sector has increased considerably. The macro-level plan has failed to regulate the investment decisions of millions of individual decisionmakers, with the result that the end product is different from what is visualized in the five year plans.

Though the share of the primary sector in the GDP at 1970-71 prices has gone down from 60 per cent in 1950-51 to 38 per cent in 1984-85 and the shares of secondary sector has increased from 14.47 per cent to 21.6 per cent, and of the tertiary sector from 26 per cent to 40.32 per cent, the percentage shares of the workers in agriculture has declined only marginally over time (NBARD, 1984). Notwithstanding industrial growth, the proportion of workers in agriculture has stubbornly refused to come down, with the result that the per capita income in the agricultural sector has been depressed considerably. Whereas industrial output has increased by more than 5 times between 1950-51 and 1980-81, employment generation in this sector has increased only by 88 per cent. We should not expect more employment generation in this sector in the seventh plan because of greater emphasis on modernization and closure of many sick units.

Table 8 gives the sectoral distribution of additional employment to be generated in the seventh Five Year Plan.

It is evident from Table 8 that there has been a reduction in the percentage share of transport, trade, and commerce and "other services" from 33.28 per cent in the sixth plan to 31.48 per cent in the seventh. The employment strategy of the seventh plan is based on the premise that the organized industrial sector would not be able to absorb surplus labor in the economy even with a higher rate of investment and growth. This implies that additional labor

TABLE 8

Sectoral distribution of additional employment

<i>Sector</i>	<i>Percent share in additional employment</i>		
	<i>Decade</i>	<i>VI Plan</i>	<i>VII Plan</i>
	<i>1971-81</i>		
Agriculture and allied activities	56.66	43.52	44.56
Mining & quarrying	0.77	0.49	0.84
Manufacturing including electricity	17.81	16.77	17.70
Construction	3.00	5.94	5.44
Transport	3.83	33.28	6.91
Other services	17.93		24.55

will have to be absorbed in agriculture and allied occupations. This fact will further depress the per capita agricultural income, making it difficult for anti-poverty programs to succeed.

Because of the deceleration of the industrial growth rate and increase in concentration of purchasing power in a few hands, the Indian economy does not provide an expanding market for industry and services and acts as a major constraint on the growth process (Minocha, 1986). It is agricultural prosperity in a different institutional framework that can sustain growth in other sectors.

In recent years, the process of relaxation of controls has been accelerated. The private sector has been permitted entry in such lines of manufacture which were hitherto reserved for the public sector. Large business houses and the FERA companies are now free to enter even in such areas of industry which were previously reserved for the public or the small-scale sector. The name liberalization is given to all those measures intended to remove controls and give more investment opportunities to the private sector. This liberalization has adversely affected the public sector in a variety of ways. Its role has been considerably attenuated by the entry of large business houses, multinationals, and FERA companies. It has to face competition with imported goods. The budgetary support to the public sector undertakings has been reduced and most of them have been asked to raise funds from the market. There has been a sharp decline in the growth rate of the capital goods industry because of liberalization of imports. The liberalization policy has

firmly placed the Indian economy on the path of capitalist development. We have diluted planning which now remains in form and not in substance. In the market economy, prices are bound to rise because of the pressure of demand and even administered prices would be raised from time to time, due to the rise in the prices of inputs. It is not the object of this paper to discuss the impact of liberalization on the Indian economy, but the fact cannot be denied that liberalization will adversely affect the poor by further increasing the concentration of income and wealth. The seventh Five Year Plan visualizes that India would enter the twenty-first century as a progressive and modern nation, technologically more advanced, with near full employment and percentage of population below the poverty line reduced to 5, and with health for all. The strategies that we are following may lead to the creation of a few pockets of excellence surrounded by vast hinterlands of poverty and backwardness. As things are shaping, the recent trends in economic policies will further strengthen the forces of market mechanism, diluting the instruments of a planned economy, thereby putting the poor at a further disadvantage. There seems to be no talk about changes in the product-mix, technology-mix, and investment pattern biased in favor of the poor.

Even within the existing socio-economic framework, poverty can be reduced provided there is a willingness to take hard decisions, redistribution should be inbuilt in the production strategy and planning strengthened at different territorial levels.

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Social Perspectives on Causal Attribution

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This paper investigates the rôle of social perspective in achievement attribution. In view of the relevance of social perspective to the socio-economic disadvantage and deprivation, an attempt has been made to examine the attribution-deprivation link both for actors and observers, and to discuss its implications.

Attribution research has generally focused on the causes lay persons assign to behavioral outcomes. Although lay persons act as scientists in inferring the causes of outcomes, the disparate biases of motivational and cognitive nature often distort their attributions. As a result, asymmetries in causal attribution seem to occur as a rule. They are determined by many factors, such as, actor-observer differences, situational and task characteristics, nature of outcome, and cognitive and motivational characteristics of the attributor. Ross (1977) has classified these biases into motivational and nonmotivational categories. In speculating about possible disturbances in an otherwise logical attribution system, theorists are quick to postulate ego-defensive biases through which attributors maintain or enhance their self-esteem or positive opinion of their specific dispositions and abilities (Jones & Davis, 1965; Heider, 1958; Kelley, 1967). Actors are found to attribute "success" to their own effort, abilities, or dispositions and "failure" to luck, task difficulty, or other external factors. Achievement tasks (Feather, 1969; Wolosin, Sherman, & Till, 1973) and teaching performance (Beckman, 1970) have provided most of the evidence to this effect. It has also been shown that actors assume greater credit for success and less blame for failure than the observers evaluating the same outcome (Beckman, 1970).

The most provocative contribution to nonmotivational biases has been made by Jones and Nisbett (1971) who showed "divergent perceptions of actors and observers." It was proposed that actors and observers differ in their susceptibility to the fundamental attribution error, i.e., in a situation where an actor attributes his behavioral choices to situational factors and constraints, observers are likely to attribute the same choices to the actor's stable ability, attitudes, and personality traits. This difference is obtained not only because of the actor's greater knowledge of circumstances but also due to the differential salience of information available to them. However, there are some contradictory findings regarding this hypothesis (Feather & Simon, 1971; Frieze & Weiner, 1971).

Harvey, Town, and Yarkin (1981) have argued that the tendency to emphasize dispositional rather than situational factors cannot be considered as a "fundamental attribution error" since there are no definite criteria for judging the accuracy. Kruglanski and Ajzen (1983), therefore, have preferred the term "bias" over "error" as it reflects a preference in favor of a given cognition over others. A third term "heuristics" has also been suggested which connotes the rule of thumb drawn from cultural wisdom (Turner & Giles, 1981). This shift in conceptualization suggests a change in the concept of a lay person. As indicated by Mascofici and Hewstone (1983), a lay person is not a naive psychologist but an amateur scientist, as scientific knowledge is also transformed into common sense knowledge. The critics of attribution theory have pointed out that early studies disregarded the social beliefs of the perceivers (Hewstone, 1983). It is argued that Kelley's (1967) theory treats a person as a statistician and focuses too narrowly on the perceiver's search for a subjective view of the world. Recent studies have been extended to explore the role of context in attribution (Hewstone & Jaspars, 1982; Furnham, 1982). This extension is not only helpful in understanding social behavior but also delineates the form of society as represented in the cognitive scheme of the attributor.

So far, attribution research has been confined to the isolated informational inputs. In real life, however, individuals rarely make attributions in social situations. The voluminous research on person perception has amply demonstrated the influence of social factors on perception. It seems that before attributing, the attributor most likely perceives the actor to be belonging to a specific social category which in turn guides the attributions. In this context

attribution process seems to involve a vantage point of the attributor. In most of the achievement contexts, the attributor seems to be guided by his phenomenal world. Wherefrom does this vantage point come? One potent source lies in one's social perspective of the attributor. Because of various factors, such as, socio-economic status (SES) and cultural differences the individuals develop a framework according to which they perceive and understand "social reality". This line of thinking is being realized in the recent shift in the paradigms of social psychology.

Some Indian studies suggest the possible role of social perspective of the attributor in attribution. For instance, Y. Sinha, Jain, and Pandey (1980) found that people from low SES, particularly those with no ownership of the means of production, attributed poverty more to their lack of skill and ability as compared to the urban middle class. Pandey, Y. Sinha, Parkash, and R. C. Tripathi (1982) found that political ideology and affiliation were associated with the perception of the causes of poverty. Jain and Misra (1986) observed that adults attributed the cause of corruption in Indian society more to individual rather than to systemic and societal causes. Dalal, Sharma, and Bisht (1983) reported a greater causality to persons for undesirable events and situations, and for desirable events greater causality was seen in the case of ex-criminal tribal children rather than urban children.

Social perspective is derived from socio-cultural experiences leading to a vantage point, through which members of a given social group or community perceive their world and themselves. At present we are concerned with the social perspective of those who are deprived of the bare necessities for survival and lack the basic sources of experiences (L. B. Tripathi & Misra, 1975). In recent years evidence has accumulated which differentiates the social perspectives of deprived and nondeprived groups. Misra (1986) has reported that these groups differ in socio-cultural backgrounds, which provides varying degrees of experiential learning opportunities, motivational contexts, and cognitive characteristics. Thus, it can be argued that the differences in attributions for achievement outcomes between the high and low deprived groups emerge out of their differential perspectives. In order to examine this contention two studies were conducted. Study 1 examined achievement attribution for self and others by the high and low deprived individuals in the academic domain. Study 2 focused on the social stereotypes

attached to different economic classes and attributions of success and failure of target persons belonging to them.

DEPRIVATION, SELF-ESTEEM, AND ACHIEVEMENT ATTRIBUTION

Social perspective signifies the way people view their external world; what one sees and construes out of it, and the mode of conceiving things as determined by one's historical and social settings (Manheim, 1960). These perspectives are formed and shaped by one's experiences. The perspective effect on causal perception attracted attribution theorists much later (Kelley, 1973). The studies in Indian setting (Misra, 1983; Misra & L. B. Tripathi, 1980; Rath, Dash, & Das, 1979; D. Sinha, Misra, & R. C. Tripathi, 1982) have generally demonstrated lower levels of performance for disadvantaged rather than advantaged groups. This performance deficit has been explained in terms of the differences in motivation (Pareek, 1970; Sharma & R. C. Tripathi, 1982; Sinha & Misra, 1982). Socially disadvantaged pupils are also characterized by a low self-esteem and a negative self-image (Misra, 1983).

Jain and Mal (1984) found that high deprived subjects gave internal attributions for success as well as failure. It was argued that perhaps low ability attribution by the deprived group prevented it from attending and making use of the information concerning reinforcement provided by the environment. Since this finding was similar to previous studies (Fitch, 1970) showing failure attributions to internal factors, it was contended that prolonged deprivation leading to low self-esteem and depression would bias the subjects' failure attribution toward internal factors. To study this problem a $2 \times 3 \times 2$ factorial experiment with two levels of deprivation (low/high), three levels of self-esteem (low/moderate/high), and two levels of target context (self/other) was conducted. The participants were drawn on the basis of pretesting on the Prolonged Deprivation Scale (Misra & Tripathi, 1980) and the Self-Esteem Scale (Backman & O'Melley, 1977). A total of 120 male high school students ranging from the ages of 15 to 17 years ($M = 16.5$) participated in the study.

The achievement outcomes were manipulated through performance on anagram task. After completing the task the subjects received a success/failure feedback. Finally, they rated 4 causes, i.e., ability, task difficulty, effort, and luck for their contribution

to the outcome on the 5-point scales with anchor points as 1 = "least a cause" and 5 = "most a cause".

Success Attribution

The results showed that the main effects of deprivation were not significant. The effect of self-esteem was significant for luck, $F(2,54) = 4.68$, P less than 0.05 and task attribution $F(2,54) = 14.4$, $P < 0.01$. The low self-esteem subjects attributed more to luck ($M = 3.88$), followed by the moderate ($M = 3.38$), and high ($M = 3.25$) self-esteem subjects. In case of task attribution, the moderate self-esteem subjects showed the higher rating ($M = 2.80$) followed by the low ($M = 2.20$) and high self-esteem ($M = 2.13$) subjects. Finally, effort was attributed more as a cause of self ($M = 4.23$) than other's success ($M = 3.87$), $F(1,54) = 5.91$, $P < .05$.

The deprivation \times self-esteem interaction was significant, $F(2,54) = 5.03$, $P < .05$, for task attribution. Low deprived (LD) with high self-esteem subjects considered a task as less ($M = 1.90$) a cause of success than the high deprived (HD) with high self-esteem ($M = 2.35$). The two groups with moderate self-esteem did not differ significantly ($M = 2.70$ and 2.90 for LD and HD groups, respectively). Contrary to the LD group with high self-esteem, the LD subjects with low self-esteem attributed more task difficulty ($M = 2.40$) than their HD low self-esteem counterparts ($M = 2.00$).

Self-esteem \times target context interaction was significant for ability, $F(2,54) = 6.88$, $P < 0.01$ and task difficulty, $F(2,54) = 22.43$, $P < .01$. The subjects with high self-esteem attributed ability more for self-success ($M = 4.10$) than for other's success ($M = 3.70$). The pattern of rating for task difficulty for personal and other's success at low and moderate self-esteem levels was similar, but at high self-esteem level other's success ($M = 2.20$) than self-success ($M = 2.50$) was attributed less to task difficulty.

The 3-way interactions were significant for luck, $F(2,54) = 44.8$, $P < .01$ and task difficulty, $F(2,54) = 23.0$, $P < .01$. At the high self-esteem level the difference in luck attribution between the HD and LD subjects was greater for personal than the success of others. At the moderate self-esteem level the differences were lesser for personal than other's success while at the low self-esteem level similar differences emerged for luck attribution between HD and LD subjects.

for persona, as well as other's success. The HD subjects with high self-esteem attributed luck more as a cause of personal success than their LD counterparts. The reverse was true for the moderate self-esteem level, as other's success was attributed more to luck by LD rather than by the HD group.

In case of task difficulty, LD subjects attributed lesser task difficulty for personal success than for other's success at high self-esteem level. The HD group did not differ on task difficulty for personal and other's success. At the moderate self-esteem level, the HD subjects attributed task difficulty more ($M = 3.30$) than the LD group ($M = 2.50$) for personal success, but for other's success the HD group attributed task difficulty lesser ($M = 2.50$) than the LD group ($M = 2.90$). At the low self-esteem level, the LD group attributed more task difficulty ($M = 2.60$) for other's success as compared to the HD group ($M = 2.00$).

Failure Attribution

The LD subjects attributed luck to a greater extent than the HD subjects, $F(1,54) = 9.33$, $P < .01$. Also, the HD subjects attributed effort more than the LD ones, $F(1,54) = 14.16$, $P < .01$. The main effect of self-esteem was significant for effort, $F(2,54) = 9.22$, $P < .01$ and task difficulty, $F(2,54) = 40.77$, $P < .01$. Effort as a cause of failure was rated higher by low self-esteem subjects and least by the high self-esteem subjects.

The target context yielded significant effect for luck, $F(1,54) = 8.61$, $P < .01$, effort, $F(1,54) = 6.89$, P less than .01, and task difficulty, $F(1,54) = 4.68$, $P < .05$. The mean attribution scores for these causes were consistently greater for personal failure than for the failure of others.

The deprivation \times self-esteem interaction was significant for ability, $F(2,54) = 9.82$, $P < .01$, and effort, $F(2,54) = 3.37$, $P < .05$. At the high self-esteem level HD subjects gave higher rating for ability than the LD subjects. At moderate and low levels of self-esteem the LD and HD groups evinced similar trends. However, the HD subjects consistently attributed effortless as a cause of failure than the LD subjects, across the three levels of self-esteem.

The interaction of deprivation and target context also reached the significance level for ability, $F(1,54) = 18.11$, $P < .01$ and luck, $F(1,54) = 4.73$, $P < .05$. For personal failure the HD group

attributed ability more than the LD while the reverse was true for attribution of ability to other's failure. In case of luck the LD group attributed more than the HD group for personal failure. The same was true for others' failure but the difference was lesser than personal attribution.

Self-esteem \times target context interaction was significant for effort, $F(2,54) = 12.65, P < .01$, and task difficulty, $F(2,54) = 3.54, P < .05$. It was found that the low self-esteem subjects attributed more to task difficulty in case of personal failure than to others failure. Also, the low self-esteem subjects attributed more to task difficulty in case of personal failure than to the failure of others.

The present results have shown that deprivation and self-esteem jointly influenced attributions for achievement outcomes. It was observed that at higher levels of self-esteem the high deprived attributed success more to external cause (task) than the low deprived group. In contrast, the effect of deprivation was reversed at the low level of self-esteem where low deprived with low self-esteem externalized their success more than the high deprived ones. At moderate self-esteem level the two groups showed almost similar attribution. These results indicate that similar levels of self-esteem at different levels of deprivation lead to differential weightage to external factors for success. The results revealed that at the high esteem level the high deprived group explained personal success more in terms of external causes like luck, and task difficulty as compared to the low deprived group. These results seem to be in line with the contention that deprivation does provide a perspective to view achievement outcomes.

The role of social perspective was more evident in case of failure attributions where high deprived subjects attributed failure more to internal causes while the low deprived ones emphasized external causes. The results are in line with earlier findings (Jain & Arya, 1982). It seems that ego involvement is a critical variable in case of low deprived subjects' experience of failure since it poses greater threat to the ego, leading to defensive attribution. However, it does not evoke ego defensiveness for the high deprived group since failure is not an uncommon experience for them. As a consequence, the high deprived subjects even with high self-esteem attributed lack of ability as the prime factor for failure. It seems that the high deprived individuals, because of lack of resources, have more frequent failure experiences and are susceptible to

internalize failure as a stable condition. Low deprived individuals, on the other hand, perhaps because of their status are more sensitive to failure and try to protect their "ego" by externalizing their failures.

The findings are consistent in the sense that the high deprived subjects even with high self-esteem accepted lack of effort for their failure. Within the framework of attribution theory high deprived individuals would have been motivated to increase their effort to achieve success. However, common observations do not confirm this view. It appears that even after realizing internal causes for their failure, the high deprived individuals are reluctant to put in more effort for success. This state seems to reflect their helplessness (Jain, 1988).

CLASS STEREOTYPES AND ACHIEVEMENT ATTRIBUTIONS

Study 1 showed that the different levels of deprivation provide divergent social perspectives yielding disparate attributions, particularly in failure condition. Another way of inferring social perspective can be envisaged in terms of class stereotypes prevalent in a given society. The stereotypes attached to different social classes are prevalent in almost every society. In view of the fact that stereotypes influence person perception (Brigham, 1971; Cauthen, Robinson, & Kraus, 1971), it was contended that attributions would also be influenced by the class stereotype. Since the stimulus person is an individual belonging to a given economic class and if this information is available to the observer, it will most likely be taken into consideration while assigning the causes to the stimulus person's performance.

The stereotypic perceptions (Hamilton & Ross, 1980; Jones & McGillis, 1976) are derived from the perceiver's knowledge that the person belongs to a particular social category, such as, age, sex, occupation, social class, and ethnic group. From this knowledge the perceiver is likely to generate some expectancies about outcome-attribution linkages. There has been relatively less work on such expectancies based on stereotypic beliefs in relation to casual attribution (Deaux, 1976; Guttman & Bar-Tal, 1982). If these stereotyped expectations are true then the success of a person from a high social class will be attributed more to stable internal causes and the failure to unstable external causes. This pattern of

attribution cannot be envisaged for the lower class people. Moreover, developmental changes in attribution were also expected since cognitive maturity needed in attributional process increases with age. With this line of thinking it was expected that the success of a high social class person and the failure of a low social class person would be attributed more to stable internal causes with advancing age. In contrast, failure of high social class and success of low social class persons would be attributed to unstable external causes.

The study involved a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design employing three age groups, the high-low economic status of the stimulus person, and the success and failure outcomes. Each cell of the design had 15 Ss. The effects of these variables were studied on the response of subjects (observers) who attributed for different outcomes of the stimulus person's performance. The performance of stimulus persons on tasks, i.e., reasoning problems, anagrams, and social intelligence tests, was evaluated as preplanned to suit the particular experimental condition. Each group performed the task separately and witnessed the performance of an unknown (stimulus) person. The observers were seated on chairs forming a semi-circle. Two chairs and tables were arranged and kept just in front of the observers' row for the stimulus person and experimenter.

The participants were (180 observers) students. The observers were selected from a pool of 400 students belonging to middle class families earning around Rs. 1000/- per month. They were equally drawn from third, seventh, and eleventh grades representing three age groups, i.e., 5.7 to 10 years ($M = 9.3$), 12.6 to 14 years ($M = 13.2$), and 16 to 18 years ($M = 17.4$). Another 12 students were selected to act as stimulus persons from other but similar government higher secondary schools.

The participants were invited in the room and informed that "the student who will be just arriving will be asked to complete these tasks (the three tasks were given to the observers). He will be evaluated in terms of his performance on all these tasks and be declared successful/failed as the case will be. Before we invite the student please furnish the questionnaire marked 'S'." At this point the SEM¹ was administered on the subjects. Each participant received any one of the two sheets of SEM: one described the stimulus

¹ Stereotypic Expectation Measure

person as a student from a low social class family and the other described the stimulus person belonging to the rich class. The number and the adjectives were the same for the two groups though they appeared in different orders on each sheet. After the stereotype questionnaire was completed by the observer, the student (stimulus person) was invited. He was first introduced as a student belonging to a rich or poor family and then asked to complete the tasks. Each task was administered with the standard instructions. After about half an hour, when the stimulus subject finished the given tasks, the *E* asked him to go and call one of his assistants to score the stimulus person's performance. The scoring was false and the student was declared as successful or failed on the task as planned earlier. The scoring took about 15 minutes during which *E* kept the participants busy by talking to them. Observers were not allowed to talk about anything regarding the experiment, the stimulus person, or his performance. After the result was declared the observers were asked to complete the attribution questionnaire. Finally, the subjects were thanked and debriefed about the experimental manipulation and the experiment was terminated.

The results showed that as age progressed from 9 to 13 and 17 years the mean expectation increased for the high status stimulus person ($M = 34.37, 39.35, 47.62$, respectively), with significant difference ($F, 2/177 = 4.56, p < .05$). In contrast, the expectations decreased for the low status stimulus person with age ($M = 33.13, 32.0, 29.01$ respectively for 9 years, 13 years, and 17 years).

The developmental change was significant for ability attribution, $F(2, 168) = 8.65, p < .01$. Greater ability was attributed by the 17 years old observers ($M = 3.8$) than by the 13 years old ($M = 2.9$), followed by the 9 years old ($M = 2.4$).

The status of the stimulus person did not show significant effect for any measure. However, it interacted with outcome to influence attribution for three causes, i.e., luck, $F(1, 168) = 33.41, p < .01$, effort, $F(1, 168) = 24.46, p < .01$; and ability $F(1, 168) = 22.99, p < .01$. Success of high status person ($M = 3.8$) and failure of low status person ($M = 3.5$) were attributed more to ability. Success of low status person ($M = 3.6$) and failure of high status person ($M = 3.5$) were attributed more to luck. Finally, the success of low status person and failure of high status person were attributed more to effort ($M = 3.7$, and 3.6 respectively).

The type of outcome influenced attribution for task difficulty, $F(1,168) = 5.23, p < .01$ and expectancy, $F(1,168) = 101.15, p < .01$. Attribution of task difficulty and higher expectancy characterized success rather than failure. Interactions of age with the status of the stimulus person and outcome did not reach the significance level. However, three-way interactions were significant for ability $F(2,168) = 8.39, p < .01$, and effort $F(2,168) = 8.67, p < .01$. It was noted that attributions to ability for the success of high status persons increased with age, whereas mean ratings for the success of low status person were similar across all age groups. In condition of failure, the ability attribution increased with age for low status person and remained similar for high status person. In case of effort attribution for success of high status person mean ratings were lower than for low status person. In case of failure more lack of effort was ascribed for high status person than low status person.

The present study provides evidence for association between stereotype and attribution. The use of ability, effort and luck attributions was jointly influenced by the economic status of the stimulus person and his performance. Since the stereotypical belief emerged in the present study was in favor of higher expectation in the case of high economic status person, failure was attributed to lack of effort (unstable cause) and bad luck (external cause). On the other hand, in consonance with the stereotypic beliefs, failure of low status person was considered more due to lack of ability (stable internal cause), a lack of effort, or bad luck. The success of low economic status person was attributed more to high effort and good luck than to high ability which was considered a cause for success of high status person. Thus class stereotype seems to bias attributions which might provide social feedback and the formation of a specific perspective.

The asymmetry in attributions across social classes draws our attention to the formation of stereotypes. This is in line with the models proposed earlier (Deaux, 1976; McMahan, 1973; Valle & Frieze, 1976; Weiner, Frieze, Kukla, Reed, & Rosenbaum, 1971). It is presumed that performance consistent with prior expectation may be attributed to stable causes while unexpected performance to unstable causes (Raviv, Bar-Tal, Raviv, & Bar-Tal, 1980). Such expectations correspond with the related stereotypes. High economic status persons are expected to achieve success while low status

persons are expected to fail in their efforts. Therefore, the success of low economic status and the failure of high economic status persons were unexpected and attributed to unstable or external factors by the observer subjects. Such a link between social perspective and attribution was also obtained in one study (Srivastava, 1986) where the attributional pattern for success varied with the changes in the actor's ethnic affiliation.

The developmental trend noted in the present study was ability centered with increasingly greater ability attribution with advancing age. One possible explanation of this pattern may be advanced in terms of social learning. On the basis of encounters across various settings, children acquire the knowledge that task performance in general and school subjects in particular are frequently evaluated in terms of ability. This learning is eventually internalized as a general attribution style (Ickes & Layden, 1978). Thus individuals give greater emphasis on psychological characteristics more than they do not have evidence for other external factors.

The 3-way interactions for ability and effort indicated that the attributions made by the youngest group were similar across the status of persons and outcomes, whereas older subjects provided explanations congruent with status related expectations. This can be understood in terms of the evidence obtained for class linked stereotypic expectations which were found to increase with advancing age.

Expectations for future performance seem to be determined mainly by the outcome. This seems to be true across all the age levels employed in the study. The future expectations correspond with present performance. This explanation provided by observers seems obvious in a situation where they are informed about the economic status of the stimulus person and performance outcomes. Thus stereotypes do influence performance attribution and constitute an important source of social feedback which generates and maintains social perspective.

CONCLUSION

These results partly support the widely shared generalization of attribution research: individuals tend to make internal attributions for their own positive outcomes and external attributions for negative outcomes (Feather, 1983). This is true for the low deprived

and privileged individuals. The high deprived individuals even with higher levels of self-esteem were found to use external causes for their success. Similarly, the success of low status persons was attributed to luck (external cause), and of higher status persons to ability (internal). In view of differential class stereotypes, which become stronger with age and the diverse experiential base of the high deprived persons, the asymmetry in attributional pattern of these individuals lends support to the "social perspective" stance taken by the author. It seems that a vantage point is developed in accordance with one's "socio-economic" status through which "social reality" is viewed, analyzed, and evaluated. The social stereotype provides feedback in terms of expressed values and behaviors toward the target group, and members of the target group incorporate these evaluations in their "social perspective" which in turn colors and shapes their perceptions and behaviors.

Since attributional explanations are functional and rooted in the social system, they require such psychological interventions which can break the vicious circle. The functional characteristics of attributions perhaps bias the individuals to perceive the external causes for the success of the poor and internal causes for their failure, which serve as a feedback to the deprived people who by way of a self-fulfilling prophecy (Rosenthal, 1974) further develop such attributions.

The implications of internal explanations of negative outcomes for motivational characteristics of the low social class do not seem to be in line with the predictions of Weiner's (1986) theory of achievement attribution. This theory predicts a link between attributions and expectations, and hence attribution of failure to effort would motivate the attributor to engage in more effort and a greater expectation of success. However, Indian studies do not show any consistent relationship between future expectancy and effort attribution in the disadvantaged children (G. Misra, 1988, G. Misra & S. Misra, 1986; G. Misra & Jain, 1988).

The present findings showed joint influence of the level of self-esteem and deprivation. It was noted that highly deprived individuals with high degree of self-esteem used external causes for success whereas low deprived high self-esteem subjects used stable causes for explaining success. This might be a reflection on the part of differential reinforcements received by the two groups. This was also evident in differential attributions of success and failure of high-low status persons.

The contemporary socio-economic structure in India is such that the people comprising socio-economically disadvantaged and deprived stratum live in conditions which reinforce inconsequentiality of behavior. In other words, they frequently experience the cruel fact that their actions do not lead to outcomes. This perception of noncontingent relationships modifies not only their self-appraisal, rather they are compelled to model their aspirations and expectations after the high status persons and those depicted in the media sources. The big gap between the two is unfortunately unmanageable and leads to several undesirable forms of behavior. The resulting feelings of helplessness and apathy restrict them in pursuing positive steps toward self-realization. The present attributional findings tend to suggest that deprivation transforms their perspective in such a manner that they, unlike their advantaged counterparts, neither enjoy success in terms of self-enhancement nor reduce the sufferings of failure by attributing it to external factors. Coupled with problems of negative self-image and unproductive motivational features (Sinha & Misra, 1982; Singh & Misra, 1985), they remain marginal and are not integrated in the mainstream. The state provisions initiated to uplift their situation have not been very successful in their efforts. This situation demands the restructuring of the macro-level environment as well as change in the orientation at the individual level. This two-pronged strategy can only ensure sustained change in the behavior of the disadvantaged groups which can offer the opportunities for realization of their potentials and thus contribute their potential to the process of national development.

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Psychology of Deprivation

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This paper provides an overview of the psychological research in the areas of socio-cultural and economic deprivation and social disadvantages. With this goal in mind, an effort has been made to analyse the nature of deprivation and its relationship with cognitive, motivational, and educational processes, and to indicate its research and policy implications.

DEPRIVATION IN THE INDIAN SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

Despite our best intentions and diverse efforts we have not been able to attain equality of opportunity for the different segments of Indian society. Owing to traditional vertical social structure and paucity of resources, a large part of the population, particularly those belonging to backward and scheduled castes (SC) as well as scheduled tribes (ST), represents sections which are enduringly deprived of economic sufficiency, cultural sophistication, and social advantages. They suffer from malnutrition, lack of provisions for elementary health and sanitation, and educational facilities.

The events of the postindependence era (e.g., social legislations, industrialization, and spread of educational facilities) have certainly made financial and cultural activities partly independent of caste structure, and upward social mobility seems to be steadily increasing. However, the official and nonofficial efforts to accelerate the process of socio-economic transformation of the weaker sections have not been able to change the situation significantly. Nationwide surveys by the NCERT and ICSSR of the problems of SC and ST students have shown that their socio-economic and cultural backgrounds in school and home are not supportive, while their aspirations have increased. Also, they suffer from feelings of inferiority and incompetence and have difficulty in coping with the demands of

the educational system as well as have *A Long Way to Go* (Chitnis 1981). On the other hand, the change in the traditional way of life and the introduction of the socialistic pattern have created economic hardships for those of the high caste. As a consequence, there are new groups of economically disadvantaged people in the higher caste stratum also, and caste is no longer a sufficient criterion of poverty and deprivation.

The studies of deprivation and its consequences have received relatively greater attention from psychologists. In these studies, the terms disadvantage and deprivation have been employed interchangeably with other terms like "cultural deprivation", "environmental deprivation", "social disadvantage", etc., to refer to deficient environmental conditions, impoverished experiences as well as certain personal characteristics of the members of the disadvantaged sections of society. Literally, deprivation stands for dispossession or loss of opportunities, privileges, etc. In research usage, however, it has been virtually synonymously used for "privation". The empirical studies on deprivation include both the lack of as well as the loss of factors assumed to facilitate growth and adjustment of the individual. As G. Misra and L. B. Tripathi (1977) have noted, researchers have often confused the consequents with antecedents and have taken a narrow range of variables in isolation. Most of the Indian researchers use disadvantage to characterize deficient environmental conditions without specifying the environmental dimensions and magnitude of differences along them. The usual strategy has been to compare across categories like caste, residential area, or cultural group. The dichotomous groups thus formed are considered to correspond with the deprived and nondeprived categories. This strategy is parallel to the one categorizing Whites Vs. Blacks, which for cultural and social reasons is inapplicable to the Indian societal conditions.

In order to specify the dimensions of deprivation, L. B. Tripathi and G. Misra (1975) concerned themselves with the experiential background of the individual. They considered it as a prolonged process relative to a defined social setting. It was argued that the socio-cultural life in any community can be conceived as a continuum, at one end of which lie those who have almost all their physical, social, and economic needs gratified, leading to varied experiences in life, while at the other end lie those who are materialistically, socially, and psychologically most handicapped in the fulfilment of

their needs, and are thus unable to gain varied experiences. They contended that caste, distinct cultural and ethnic groups are generally characterized by life activities, religious practices, entertainment patterns, family relationships, and are usually linked to economic opportunities and availability of resources. These experiential variations may be considered as direct determinants of the extent to which an individual comes to acquire competence. This shift in conceptual orientation has led to significant development in the measurement of deprivation in real life settings. L. B. Tripathi and G. Misra (1975) and G. Misra and L. B. Tripathi (1978) constructed an objective measure of deprivation, including life conditions and experiences. Misra and Tripathi (1977) empirically identified two factors of deprivation, i.e., *physico-economic* and *experiential* which are differentially related to performance on cognitive and motivational measures.

CONSEQUENCES OF DEPRIVATION

Cognitive Consequences

The data accumulated in the last decade have evinced that caste status, membership of tribal groups, and socio-economic disadvantages have very little effect on the performance on Raven's Progressive Matrices (Das & Singh, 1975; Rath, Dash, & Dash, 1979, Sahu & Mohanta, 1977; Ushasri, 1980). In contrast, performance on other measures, such as, the Porteus Maze, Kohs Block, Draw-a-Person test, and Lorge Thondike test show significant negative relationships with various types of environmental deprivation (A. K. Singh, 1976; Murlidharan, 1970; Pushpa, 1980). The measures of perceptual functions generally demonstrate significant differences between advantaged and disadvantaged groups of children (Broota, 1979; G. Misra & Shahi, 1977; G. Misra & A. Shukla, 1986; Misra & Tripathi, 1980; Sinha & P. Shukla, 1974, Sinha, 1977). Performance on categorization and conceptualization tasks has also indicated adverse effects of disadvantage (Das & Singh, 1975; Das & Panda, 1977; Malani, 1976; Misra & Tripathi, 1980).

The studies following the Piagetian paradigm suggest that the disadvantaged children exhibit delayed emergence of cognitive operations (Bevli, 1977; Ghuman, 1978; Jha, 1981; Rao, 1976, 1977)

In addition they lack insightful problem solving (M. Saxena 1978) and show lower levels of performance on representational skills and memory tasks (G. Misra & A. Shukla, 1979, 1984, 1986; A. Shukla, 1985). More recently, G. Misra and Saxena (1985) noted that short-term memory was unaffected by socio-economic deprivation while measures of long term memory showed significant adverse effects. Dixit and G. Misra (1986) have reported that incidental learning in the two groups was similar but intentional learning was better in the advantaged than the disadvantaged group.

Linguistic proficiency has been found to be significantly influenced by environmental disadvantage. The advantaged children show higher level of linguistic achievement than their disadvantaged counterparts (Sahu & Sahu, 1980). Recently, S. Shukla and Mohanty (1986) reported a negative relationship between prolonged deprivation and the development of syntactic ability. Disadvantaged children are also found to show poor academic and scholastic achievement than advantaged children (Sharma & Bhargava, 1980; A. K. Singh, 1976, 1980; Ushashri, 1980).

In general, the educational development of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes has been lower than that of the general population. Nautiyal and Sharma (1979) have documented that the educational performance of the SC and ST has been lower than that of other communities in almost all levels of education, from preprimary to higher education. Another important feature of this tragic situation is that the educational system has not been able to cover and retain the lower strata of the population. The dropout rates particularly in the phase of early education is massive. Studies on cognitive style (Majeed & Ghosh, 1979; G. Misra & Tiwari, 1986; D. Sinha, 1978) show that environmental disadvantage is associated with poor differentiation. It has also been noted that the disadvantaged children are less analytic and more impulsive, while advantaged children are more analytical and reflective (Das & Panda, 1977). S. Singh, A. Sinha, and G. Misra (1985) have noted that when the contribution of social disadvantage was partialled out, the caste of the participant could not contribute significantly to academic performance. Subsequent studies by S. Singh, Kumar, and A. Sinha (1986) have also confirmed this trend.

N. Pande and R. C. Tripathi (1982) found that the atmosphere of minority schools was perceived as more supportive than that of the majority schools. Further, NSC students perceived their school

climate to be more supportive than their SC counterparts. The NSC students from the majority schools showed a higher $nAch$ and a more positive academic self-concept than the SC students from minority schools. The kind of school had no effect on the NSC students while the SC students from majority schools scored lower than their minority school counterparts, and this effect increased with grade. It was argued that an unsupportive educational climate, which may result from forces operating in the home and school of the child, was likely to negatively influence the academic motivation in the child. Poor motivation would not allow for the acquisition and development of different cognitive skills necessary for school performance. Poor performance in school would further retard academic motivation. Some evidence supporting this view comes from the work of R. Sharma and R. C. Tripathi (1988). They found moderating effects of social background on teachers' reactions to children's achievement outcomes. Also, ability attributions varied with the caste of the children, while self-attribution of children did not reveal any difference along caste lines. It seems that the school climate differentially motivates the students depending upon their caste and socio-economic background.

There are some studies which show that the effect of disadvantage is not always adverse. For instance, G. Misra (1978) found that a number of participants hailing from highly deprived backgrounds evinced performance on cognitive tasks which was superior to the performance displayed by the low deprived group. Dash (1980) also reported that the disadvantaged tribal children had a high level of boredom-tolerance, remarkable vigilance, and manual and drawing abilities. He has focused our attention to some of the positive, self-correcting, and self-regulating features of adverse life conditions.

Studies of mediational processes by Sahu (1982) have indicated that the cumulative deficit in performance is a task specific phenomenon. Similarly, Rath et al. (1979) found that differences on RPM decreased with age. Study of cognitive differentiation by D. Sinha (1978) showed that in a younger age group, school going children were more field independent than non school goers. But in higher age groups, the differences were levelled-off, so that by the age of 9-10 years there was no consistent difference between school goers and non school goers. Some studies provide evidence of cumulative deficit on perceptual tasks (D. Sinha, 1977), RPM

(Jachuk & Mohanty 1974 Jachuk 1980) and other cognitive tasks (Das & Panda, 1977), including conservation (Rao, 1977)

It may be noted that the effects of deprivation are accompanied by other factors like malnutrition. Das and Paivato (1976) have tried to relate malnutrition to cognitive competence using stature as an independent variable. They found that the effect of malnutrition was blended with SES. Murlidharan (1970) has reported that children from high stimulation homes scored higher on the measures of language. She found that urbanization had a significant effect on the level of cognitive development of children. Compared with their counterparts from semi-urban and rural areas, the urban children not only scored higher but were also faster. A. N. Tripathi (1989) has recently examined the contributions of home environment and personality variables to the intellectual achievement of tribal and nontribal children. He found that the nontribal students scored higher on verbal measure of intelligence and school achievement than their tribal counterparts. However, the two groups were similar on the nonverbal measure of intelligence. The regression analysis revealed that in the tribal group personality factors contributed more than the home environment while the reverse was true for the nontribal group.

Thus it is obvious that the existing studies do not unequivocally demonstrate that the "deprived" and "nondeprived" (or low deprived) groups differ in some fundamental respect in general mental ability but that they do indicate substantial difference in the extent of their achievement or attainment. This suggests the operation of some nonintellective factors as mediating variables which critically determine the level of attainment.

MOTIVATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

Delineating the relationship between social disadvantage and motivation Pareek (1970) argued that the structure of poverty leads to three-fold motivational pattern characterized by low *n*Ach, low *n* extension, and high *n* dependency and expectancy that can be called the frame of powerlessness. The dependency is supposed to lead to lack of initiation, avoidance, excessive fear of failure, seeking favor of superiors over conformity, and aggressive rejection of authority. This line of reasoning suggests that the motivational characteristics linked to social disadvantage are

consequences of disadvantage which reduce the capacity to cope with environmental demands and therefore accentuate the condition of disadvantage. The empirical studies on diverse motivational consequences of socio-economic deprivation have been extensively reviewed elsewhere (Misra, 1982; Sinha & Misra, 1982). Therefore, a brief review of the salient studies and some recent work in this area is presented.

Achievement Motive

The studies employing SES have yielded equivocal results. For instance, Srivastava and M. Tiwari (1967) found the highest *nAch* in the middle class, followed by the upper and lower classes. Desai and Trivedi (1972) did not find any correlation between these variables. Mehta (1969) noted higher *nAch* in working class boys than the boys from lower middle white-collar worker groups. Gokulnathan (1970) observed higher *nAch* in tribal than in non-tribal students. Using the Prolonged Deprivation Scale (PDS), G. Misra and L. B. Tripathi (1978b, 1982), A. Tiwari and G. Misra (1977), and A. Tiwari (1984) found that deprivation is negatively related to *nAch*. Recently, R. Agarwal and G. Misra (1986) observed that the gratification of basic needs and the desire to earn money were emphasized by the disadvantaged group as most important achievement goals while advantaged group was more concerned with the goals pertaining to the domains of career, prosocial and positive experiences.

Level of Aspiration

Rath (1974) found that poor tribal students displayed considerably low level of aspiration for income, occupation, and education than their high caste counterparts. He argues that the disadvantaged children reflect internalized projections of similar aspiration of their parents. G. Misra and L. B. Tripathi (1978c) noted that the aspired status of highly deprived groups was lowest in comparison to middle and low deprivation groups. The discrepancy between present and aspired status revealed that the highly deprived groups had maximum discrepancy indicating a state of unrealistic aspiration. Caplan and R. K. Naidu (1981) found that university students from high income and high caste families had higher aspiration for

examination marks than students from low income and low caste families. G. Misra and S. Misra (1986) observed that the advantaged students had higher expectations about achievement, were more certain, and were prepared for greater effort expenditure than their disadvantaged counterparts.

Personality

Rath (1974) found greater incidence of neuroticism and insecurity in the low caste students. Dhapola (1977) noted that on EPPS exhibition and change needs were greater among Brahmin students than SC students. TAT Projections yielded that SC students were high on achievement, deference, interception, and abasement needs while Brahmins were higher on affiliation and succorance needs. A. K. Singh (1981) observed that disadvantaged students were more rigid, conforming, anxious, less extrovert, alienated and had a lower self-image than their advantaged counterparts. Prolonged deprivation has been found to be positively related to alienation (A. K. Singh & V. K. Sharma, 1982) and external locus of control (N. K. M. Tripathi, 1983). Bhargava and Aurora (1981) found that highly deprived adolescents were more reserved, emotionally unstable, shy, depressive, conservative, and frustrated. In contrast, the low deprived adolescents were participating, more intelligent, emotionally stable, venturesome, radical, and relaxed. Studies using measures of adjustment indicate that economic status is positively associated with the degree of adjustment (George & Tharkan, 1977; Gunthey, 1981; Sudha & Tirth, 1980). The existing studies on anxiety (S. Sharma, 1978, 1988) show that lower class and deprived people have a high degree of anxiety. However G. Misra (1982) has reported that the highly deprived subjects evince less anxiety than the low deprived subjects. R. S. Singh (1985) and Gunthey and P. Sinha (1983) have reported a greater degree of anxiety among students from low SES background.

Time Perspective

It has been observed that those who are more concerned with the future and attach greater importance to it are also more successful whereas those who are excessively concerned with the past are less successful and less achievement oriented. A. Agarwal and

K. Tripathi (1980, 1984) and K. Tripathi (1987) reported that the highly deprived people were predominantly past oriented and lacked future orientation. The low deprived subjects were found to contemplate more about those events which could occur in the coming stages of their life as opposed to highly deprived subjects who envisage fewer goals in the future. A. Agarwal, K. Tripathi, and M. Srivastava (1983) have argued that experiential enrichment is helpful in extricating one's self from the present adversity to think and plan about the future. U. Naidu (1981) has observed that SC students were more aware of and more eager to involve themselves in social change. Many were willing to do all they could to effect these changes. They also displayed a desire to eliminate caste discrimination. The NSC students, on the other hand, were not really worried beyond their little world.

Self-Concept

S. Sharma (1975) found that there was a tendency for more positive self-concept with increasing SES, though the overall effect of SES was not significant. Rath (1974) observed that SC students held negative stereotypes about their groups which reflected the internalization of high caste attitude toward the low caste people. Dhapola (1977) has reported that SC students show inadequacies in the realms of self-system, social extension of self, and interpersonal attitude than Brahmins. However, SC students have as positive and variegated self-concept as found in Brahmins. Only comparatively the negative aspects are more often revealed. G. Misra and L. B. Tripathi (1980) have noted that while self-perception was positive across high, medium, and low deprivation levels its magnitude showed a significant negative relationship with degree of deprivation. Further analysis of data indicated that the intensity of favorableness of self-concept was lowest in high than the middle and low deprived groups. U. Naidu (1981) has reported that the low SES and SC students suffer from identity crisis.

Performance Attribution

In recent years differences in causal attributions by the disadvantaged students have been analyzed. S. Singh and G. Misra (1985) found that the high and low deprived children perceived ability as equally

important under competence condition, whereas under helplessness condition high deprived subjects blamed ability more than their low deprived counterparts. G. Misra and S. Misra (1986) observed that the advantaged students attributed their performance in school examination more to controllable and stable causes than the disadvantaged students. Luck was attributed more in the case of failure by the advantaged students while the disadvantaged ones used it to explain success. An opposite trend was noted in the effort attribution. Jain and Mal (1984) have reported that the low deprived subjects as compared to high deprived subjects considered effort and ability major causes of success and bad luck the major cause of their failure. G. Misra (1985, 1988) observed that the tendency to make causal attribution was greater under competitive situations, and advantaged students used more variegated causal beliefs than the disadvantaged ones. The disadvantaged students showed a predominant tendency to attribute failure largely to internal factors and success to external factors.

Social Disadvantage and Patterns of Coping

D. Sinha and G. Misra (1983) have indicated that the first generation disadvantaged learners' initial interaction with the university was characterized by a variety of problems. They viewed the environment less positively and experienced problems in dealing with the demands of university life. Their affective reactions were negative and coping strategies largely nontask-oriented. They were more externally controlled and evinced greater concern with avoidance of disapproval. Data on a projective measure showed that for the disadvantaged group the relative significance of various factors was more similar across success and failure than the advantaged group. This reflected rigidity in the disadvantaged group in approaching the problems and implicates a process of self-discouragement. In a recent study J. Pandey and A. Singh (1985) found that perceived poverty is significantly predicted by both physical quality of living and per capita income. They noted that income, physical quality of living, and perceived poverty were negatively related to escape, helplessness, hopelessness, learned helplessness, and denial. Also, perceived poverty was a better predictor for coping behavior than income.

TIONS OF DEPRIVATIONAL

The source of discrepancy in the level of performance of deprived and nondeprived groups has generally been explained on the basis of one of the two hypotheses, i.e., *deficit* and *difference*. Based on the assumption that a community under conditions of poverty is a disorganized community, and this disorganization expresses itself in various forms of deficit, it is argued that deprivation results in impoverishment of learning opportunities and acquisition of experiences which facilitate cognitive growth. The specific sources of deficit that have been identified are inadequate mothering, less guidance in goal seeking from the parents, less emphasis upon means and ends in maternal instruction, and less positive and more negative reinforcement. Some researchers, however, hold the view that the advantaged and disadvantaged groups show *difference* in performance (Ginsberg, 1972; Labov, 1970) rather than deficit. They cast doubt on the concept of deficit and emphasize psychic unity. In addition, they argue that the results supporting deficit hypothesis are situation bound and reflect limitations of data collection techniques.

A related issue is that of distinction between competence and performance. Some investigators argue that the measures of cognitive development reveal the nature of *performance* and do not reveal differences in *competence*. As Ginsberg (1972) has remarked, the tests measure performance and the schools measure performance, but they do not necessarily tap the child's competence or fundamental ability in the real sense. Labov (1970) has argued that advantaged and disadvantaged groups do not differ in the level of their competence. He explains the obtained differences on the basis of situation or context in which competence is expressed. The supportive evidence comes from studies of motivational factors, linguistic performance, differences on Piagetian measures and lack of difference at the younger age level.

The results of Indian studies showing a lack of difference on mental ability tests and learning tasks on the one hand and significant difference on achievement measures on the other suggest that the disadvantaged groups are different rather than deficient from advantaged groups. In order to explain the existing findings G. Misra and L. B. Tripathi (1980) argued that the ethos of the deprived and nondeprived are such that a large area is common to both

while some areas are different. They further suggest that the area common to both groups comes within the jurisdiction of deficiency hypothesis while areas exclusively falling in reach of separate groups are amenable to the difference hypothesis.

Genetic factors provide another explanation of deprivational effects. It has been argued that the deprived children perform poorly because they are genetically less bright (Jensen, 1969). However, the operation of genetic variables does not imply that intelligence is fixed and predetermined. Indian studies have paid very little attention to the possible role of genetic factors in cognitive development. In the Indian context, caste has been treated as a genetic variable, though the distinct and separate genetic identity of castes cannot be claimed in the contemporary caste structure. Existing empirical data do not provide unequivocal evidence of caste or ethnic differences. It cannot be asserted that birth in a particular caste is linked to a specific level of cognitive competence, rather it is the experiential background associated with caste which makes a person cognitively more or less competent. It has been observed (G. Misra & L. B. Tripathi, 1980) that high and low caste subjects with similar experiential background did not differ in performance on cognitive tasks and intelligence tests while subjects belonging to the same caste with high and low degrees of experiential deprivation differed significantly. It seems that caste in itself has little significance as far as an individual's cognitive growth is concerned, but at times it is found to be correlated with cognitive performance because of its linkage with deprivation. This position is further substantiated by the work of S. Singh et al. (1985).

The study of functional relationships between deprivation and performance requires investigation of performance in relation to different degrees of deprivation. This becomes more important in view of the proposition that environmental deprivation is a threshold phenomenon. It has been found that environmental deprivation has very little retarding effect up to a certain level. Above that level deprivation leads to deficiency. Indian studies, due to extensive use of extreme group strategy lack data about this aspect. Misra's (1978) data on the performance of high, medium, and low deprivation groups, however, provide some relevant information. The low deprived subjects displayed a higher level of competence than those from high deprived groups. The analysis of performance of medium deprivation groups revealed an interesting pattern,

which demonstrated that the relationship between deprivation and performance is nonmonotonic. It was found that on all the tasks the performance of medium deprivation groups was at a higher level than highly deprived groups and inferior to low deprivation groups. But on a majority of tasks, the differences between the medium and low deprived groups were not significant. In other words, medium deprivation groups were not markedly different from the low deprived groups. This suggests that deprivation to a moderate degree would not have adverse effects on performance. Instead, it may work as a motivator.

There is another aspect of this issue which relates to the susceptibility to deprivational effects across groups varying with the level of mental ability. In this context J. P. Das (1973) has proposed a "modified threshold hypothesis". According to him, if we recognize a threshold for intellectual capacity, children above this threshold are hardly affected by the usual disadvantageous conditions whereas children below this threshold are affected strongly by these conditions. Thus this hypothesis implicates an interaction between ability level and the degree of deprivation.

CONCLUSIONS

The study of deprivation is one of the important manifestations of Indian psychologists' response to the need for conducting relevant research. The dominant research strategy in this area has been to use dichotomous groups formed along some social/economic/cultural dimension yielding categories like rural-urban, scheduled caste nonscheduled caste, tribal-nontribal, etc. A large majority of these studies have followed some arbitrarily selected criteria in drawing the deprived and nondeprived samples. The label of deprivation was used to denote different groups and communities without specifying the nature of deprivation. The researchers have followed a strategy in which antecedent conditions were posited as post hoc explanations limiting the internal validity of the findings. The numerous demonstrations of performance differences on a variety of cognitive, perceptual, and motivational measures, therefore, are difficult to interpret. With a few exceptions the differences are attributed to a host of variables, including caste status, cultural difference, modernization, child rearing, economic factors, etc.

The appropriateness of dependent measures used in these studies is another aspect which requires detailed consideration. The performance on a task depends upon the competence of the person as well as the sensitivity of the measure and its capacity to elicit the skill from the person. This situation is realized when we do not find performance differences on various measures of the same psychological process or function. In addition, the use of normative measures without caring for culturally relevant norms makes the measurement less valid. The problem becomes more complex in the light of large-scale socio-cultural and ecological variations prevailing in the society. The content of various measures requires special consideration in light of their relevance to the ethos of specific groups. The mode of responding also shows variation across groups. For instance, the finer discriminations required in the use of rating scales cannot be expected to work equally well with groups hailing from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds.

In general, the studies have employed macro-level socio-ecological variables in a loosely defined manner. They carry surplus meaning and have been treated like micro-variables used in experimental research. This kind of treatment creates ambiguity in explanations of the findings. The use of these variables, which in reality are social labels, as independent or moderator variables has led to serious interpretational problems and carries diverse socio-political connotations and implications. The case of *caste* illustrates the complexity of the issue. Caste is a social category having complex behavioral implications. The use of caste as a variable necessitates some specification. Caste groups show—between as well as within—group variations of tremendous magnitude along several dimensions. Also, its influence on its members cannot be claimed to be uniform. At best, caste can be considered as a descriptor—in contrast to an explanatory concept. Caste is definitely linked with certain patterns of behavior, but those patterns are largely the outcomes of its association with specific experiences or opportunities.

The analysis of deprivational environment is another issue, which merits attention. Current developments in the area of ecological analysis of human environments favor a nested hierarchy of environmental systems. Following Bronfenbrenner (1979), D. Sinha (1982) conceptualized an ecological model consisting of two concentric layers of factors. The upper or more visible layer contains the immediate social environmental factors (including home, school,

and peer groups) each ordered on three dimensions: (a) physical space and materials; (b) social roles and relationship; and (c) activities. The second layer is that of "supporting or surrounding", embedding the former as provided by the physical and geographical environment, institutional setting of the individual in terms of social class, caste and so on, and the general services and amenities available to him. The component factors of the two layers influence psychological functioning of the individual at their own level as well as interacting with each other and with factors at each of the two levels. This model provides a useful approach toward conceptualizing the problems related to socio-ecological variables. Anandlakshmy (1982) has drawn our attention toward understanding the distal as well as proximal environmental variables while relating environment to developmental processes and outcomes. Recent studies by Saraswathi and Dutta (1985) and G. Misra and B. K. Tiwari (1986) have utilized the ecological framework in research on socialization and cognitive development, respectively. These studies indicate that global approach to conceptualize and assess socio-ecological variables is inadequate. As Flavell (1985) has commented:

environments or experiences differ in the amount and kind of contribution they could potentially make to cognitive development. A particular type of experience could conceivably be both *necessary* and *sufficient* for a particular type of development, necessary but not sufficient, sufficient but not necessary, or helpful without being either necessary or sufficient (p.299).

It seems that progress in relating deprivation to psychological processes requires a finer analysis of developmental environment in the specific cultural context. So far, our efforts have largely been directed toward relating psychological outcomes to either macro-or micro-level variables with very little concern for comprehending the total context of behavior. In order to achieve theoretically viable and socially relevant analysis of deprivation and its consequences, we need a conceptual scheme which incorporates the macro-as well as micro-variables without disregarding the historical and socio-structural context. The empirical findings indicate that the deprived people perform at a lower level on a majority of cognitive and intellectual tasks than their advantaged counterparts. However, they do not show much difference so far as the basic

competence and ability to learn is concerned. Also, the deprived and nondeprived groups do not manifest any appreciable difference on cognitive and behavioral measures during early years. The gap between the two groups widens with advancing age. Viewed against the mainstream the deprived people do reflect paucity of those qualities, dispositions, skills, and values which are needed for upward mobility in the competitive spheres of life. On the whole, the deprived people find themselves ill equipped to meet the diverse challenges of life. The goals set or aspired by them remain largely beyond their reach. This accentuates their frustrations leading to a variety of reactions including hostility, violence, conflict, and tension.

In order to help the deprived people a variety of schemes and programs have been initiated but not much success has been attained in alleviating poverty (see Minocha in this volume). If we consider deprivation as a situation in which potentials for human growth and development are reduced, and behaviors and outcomes remain incompatible, the strategy toward intervention would have to focus at several levels. As deprivation is primarily an environmental phenomenon related to the distribution of resources it requires a multipronged strategy to deal adequately with processes at individual, community as well as societal levels. The efforts by government agencies and voluntary organizations have not proved very effective as they do not involve the different levels adequately and harmoniously.

It is obvious that the disadvantaged people come from backgrounds which are discontinuous with the circumstances prevailing in the mainstream. The problem is made more complex by the atmosphere prevailing in the majority institutions which are characterized by prejudice, discrimination, and discouragement making the deprived more vulnerable. The lack of support from environment leads to the feelings of helplessness and hopelessness. Under these circumstances it is desirable to introduce the mechanisms of empowerment. This would break the expectancy frame of non-contingent relationship and substitute it by the feelings of competence and self-efficacy. In order to bridge the gap between family and society, compensatory education and enrichment would be effective. However, any effort in this direction would be successful to the extent the privileged groups or institutions are prepared to accept and support the deprived groups. The change in their attitudes and

behaviors are equally important. In this context it is important to point out that support in itself is not enough. Support may lead to dependency which may further perpetuate the problem rather than solve it. Support should be of such quality that people feel competent enough to take the initiative and feel responsible for their actions, and have the experience of personal causation and self-efficacy

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Poverty and Human Development: Socialization of Girls Among the Urban and Rural Poor

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Socialization of children in any community setting forms the dynamic link in the fluid chain of past, present, and future. The past provides the well tested age old traditions that lead to adaptation in a given culture; the present acts as a filter facilitating the transmission of some aspects of the past, modifying some to suit the demands of the present and rejecting others that are maladaptive; the future provides the purpose and the continuity. When one attempts to conceptualize it, the entire process of socialization appears to be an extremely complicated process of transmission of customs, beliefs, habit patterns, values, and modes of behavior from one generation to the next. Yet, actual observation in the context of day-to-day living reveals socialization to be an informal affair—part of the natural process of growing up. This paper will describe the dynamics of socialization as seen in the impoverished rural and urban slum settings of Baroda district. An ecological perspective has been adopted for interpreting the process of socialization with the assumption that it is the broader environmental context which gets filtered to the children through the parents' beliefs, practices, hopes, and aspirations. It is this context that determines the constraints and the facilitating factors which in turn influence the goals of socialization. Data from the present study are used to draw broader generalizations related to constraints and facilitating factors that exist in the contexts in which majority of the Indian children grow.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The ecological perspective for studying child behavior and development in terms of the environmental context in which children grow provided the conceptual framework for the present study. First emphasized by Lewin (1951) and his students Barker and Wright (1954), the ecological perspective has received wider attention since the publication of Bronfenbrenner's book *The Ecology of Human Development* in 1979. The central theme of behavioral ecology has been summarized succinctly by Willems (1977).

1. Human behavior must be viewed and studied at levels of complexity that are quite atypical in behavioral science;
2. The complexity lies in systems of relationships linking persons, behavior, social environment, and physical environment;
3. Such systems cannot be understood piecemeal;
4. Tampering with any part of such a system will probably affect the other parts and alter the whole; and
5. The focal challenge is to achieve enough understanding of such systems so that the effects of interventions and planned changes can be anticipated in a comprehensive fashion (p. 22)

Elaborating on his earlier theorizing (1974), Bronfenbrenner (1979) conceived of the ecological environment as a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls. The different systems that form the ecological environment include:

1. The *microsystem*, which is the pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics;
2. The *mesosystem*, comprising the interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participates (e.g., the home, the school, and the neighborhood peer group);
3. The *exosystem*, which refers to one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in which events occur that affect or are affected by what happens in the setting containing the developing person; and

4. The *macrosystem*, which refers to consistencies in the form and content of lower order systems that exist, or could exist, at the level of the subculture or the culture as a whole (e.g., the socio-political system, the belief systems, and so on).

Among the various contextual factors that influence the nature of man-environment relations, the study of poverty context has attracted much attention both from anthropologists and developmental psychologists (see Lewis, 1965; Roach & Gursslin, 1967). The environmental constraints of the poverty context and the social relevance of the need to understand how it influences child socialization and development made us focus on the context of the poor community settings for our study.

In the following pages we present our understanding of the life of children and adolescent girls in urban slums and the rural poor. Using the ecological perspective as a conceptual framework and the naturalistic methodology as the instrument for data collection, an attempt has been made to integrate the micro-level daily time schedule with the goals of child rearing in the family and the larger community.

METHOD

This study began with an assessment of its feasibility and identification of methods appropriate to the setting wherein data were to be collected. This included a detailed report of the environmental conditions; specimen records and narrative of continuous observations of children and adolescent girls (with special emphasis on the description of the behavior and its contextual framework); and interviews and field notes to collect information on the meaning attributed to behavior in context, as well as adult perception of environmental factors influencing child behavior.

Choice of Communities for Main Study

The criteria that guided the selection of the urban slum and rural poor communities were:

1. Socio-economically backward areas (as identified by local government or voluntary agencies);
2. Established liaison with the university department wherein the study was undertaken; and

- 3 Availability of secondary data on the demographic and quality of life indicators of the community.

The ultimate choice was really a compromise between the need for a representative sample and easy accessibility, lodging facilities, assured safety, and cooperation from community leaders and functionaries. Kamatipura was chosen as the urban slum setting and Rustampura as the rural poor setting for this study.

Sample

The pilot work emphasized the need for a sample representative of the community. This was attained with the help of the stratified random sampling technique keeping in mind the cooperation of the families. The final sample representing the majority included members of the lower and lower middle class, nuclear and joint families, and Hindus and Muslims.

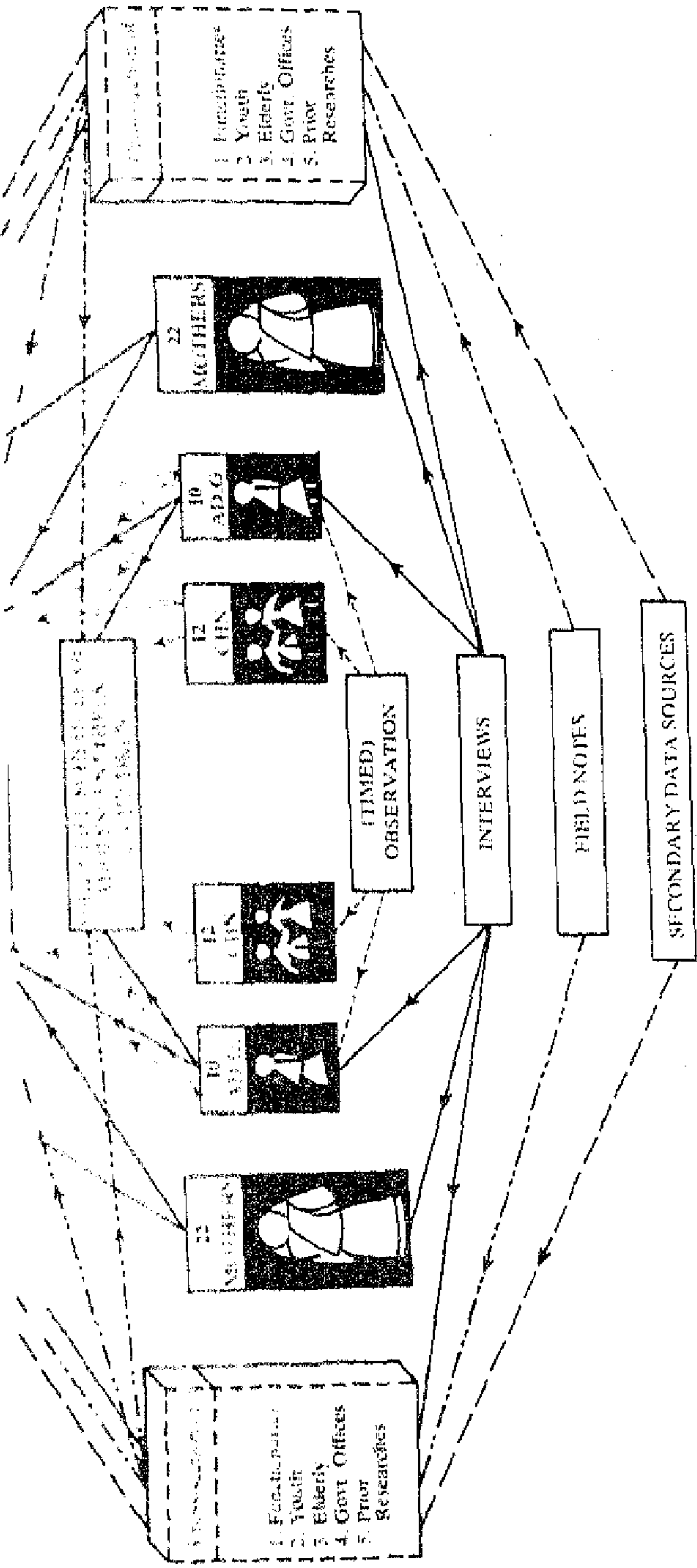
The three major components of the study involved understanding children and adolescent girls in terms of (a) macro-level community context and social milieu which influence behavior directly and indirectly; (b) the family setting with its constraints and environmental potentials; and (c) the daily life schedule. Separate subsamples allowed the data to achieve each of the major objectives (see Figure 1).

Procedure

The researchers' entry into the communities was planned very carefully in order to minimize observer influence on the subjects' behavior. After familiarizing themselves with the people in the two community settings, through a pilot study and through community level meetings, the research workers stationed themselves at prominent places for the first few days, noting down general observations and getting people habituated to their presence.

Observation of children and adolescent girls

The families of the subjects were contacted one or two days prior to commencement of observation of their child to (a) rebuild rapport, (b) recheck the survey information and note if any changes had



taken place in the intervening period and (c) confirm their presence in the community for the next few days

Each child/adolescent girl was observed from dawn to dusk in blocks of 4-5 hours (with a 15-minute overlap between two observations) and narrative records maintained with a time reference (every 5-7 minutes time recording was done in the margin) on *what* subject does and *how* (activity), *where* (locate) and *with whom* (person). Conversations, interactions, emotional expressions, and contextual data were recorded in detail. Subject to availability, the selection of a day for observaion was random. Actual data were collected only after *the subject showed* no self-consciousness at the presence of the observer.*

Interviews of Mothers and Adolescent Girls

Semi-structured, informal, directive interviews were conducted in 2-5 sessions adjusting to the subject's convenience and mood. The interviews were carried out in as much privacy as possible. In the rural setting, the services of an interpreter were used. The recording of the responses to questions was done on the spot or immediately after the interview. The recorder placed herself as unobtrusively as possible. Whenever necessary, shy and inhibited girls were paired with their more vocal peers to enable them to respond more freely

Secondary Data Sources

These sources included the Government of Gujarat statistical reports, masters and doctoral dissertations from the fields of social and preventive medicine, social work, and child development.

Field Notes

These included notes on informal talks with people, community events like movies, games, gossip of the day, impressions regarding subtle meanings attributed to events, etc. This information has been utilized to provide and enrich the qualitative description of the community.

*Note: (The procedure described is common for both the urban and rural settings, unless indicated otherwise).

Based on the quantitative and qualitative data analyses of the information obtained from the above mentioned four major sources, the results of the study are presented in consonance with the four major objectives of the study; namely, to understand (a) the community contexture; (b) the socio-cultural milieu; (c) the family setting; and (d) the daily life schedule of children and adolescent girls

THE COMMUNITY CONTEXTURE

Village Rustumpura: Profile of an Indian Rural Setting

Rustumpura is a village in Vaghodia *taluka* on the north-eastern border of Baroda city. This area is crippled with inadequate and brackish subsoil water, and poor irrigation facilities. Hence agriculture depends almost entirely on the duration of the monsoon.

Historical Profile

Earlier, Rustumpura was a barren land surrounded by thick forests, and was often used as a shooting ground. The name "Rustumpura" comes from "Rustumji", the son of a Parsi seth who played a private role in its establishment. He started cotton cultivation here (in 1885) which brought the Baniyas and Muslims (ancestors of the present Hindu and Muslim community) to Rustumpura. The village assumed a clear identity in the early nineties and gradually public services like health care, primary school, veterinary hospital and secondary school were established between 1912 and 1960.

Demographic and Economic Profile*

Rustumpura is a medium sized village of 140 households with a field area of 530 acres. 106 families (consisting of Hindus, Muslims, and some scheduled caste families) live in the main settlement. The rest of the households (SCs and STs) live in a hamlet called Govindpura.

The literacy level is 37 per cent and is higher among males and Hindu families. Nearly 70 per cent of the population is dependent

*Based on secondary data sources: (1) National population Census 1971-81 (2) Survey of village facilities by Gujarat State Economical and Statistical Bureau (3) Population survey done for UNICEF-GOG sponsored project by Faculty of Home Science (1980). (4) District Statistical Abstracts, 1978-79.

on agriculture either as farm owners or as agricultural laborers. Reported figures on female employment is low (16 per cent), and most women work as farm laborers or as house maids and water carriers. There is considerable seasonal variation in occupation among agricultural laborers. March to June are the lean months when a number of people migrate to other villages or quarry sites for work.

The indexes of occupation, land holding, and income show that the village economic structure consists mainly of two clear strata, the poor (agricultural laborers, small farmers, and artisans) and the rich (upper caste Hindu and Muslim traders and servicemen) with very few who could be classified as the middle class.

Basic Available Facilities and their Utilization

Connected to the city and nearby village, Rustumpura has a regular bus service which brings the post, newspapers, vegetables, fruits etc. Hawkers and vendors occasionally visit the village selling candy, jewelry, fish, or seasonal vegetables. Apart from buses, for short distances the other modes of travel are bullockcarts and the bicycles.

Most of the homes, except for the very poor in Govindapura, have a domestic supply of electricity. A few private wells, three community wells, and a pond supply water to the village. The harijans have their own well at the periphery. Water has to be drawn manually with buckets, using a pulley system. Sanitation facilities range from private toilets and backyard latrines to the use of open fields and hillocks as open-air latrines by most.

The village has a government-run Primary Health Unit (PHU) staffed by a resident doctor and three Auxiliary Nurse Midwives (ANM), and the services of private doctors. The village also has access to supplementary nutrition programs whereby children and pregnant women are provided with a high protein snack.

A creche and preprimary, primary, and secondary schools serve the child care and educational needs of Rustumpura and are also made available to the villages nearby. Hostel accommodation is provided for scheduled caste/tribe boys from other villages. There is provision for adult literacy classes and government or privately funded scholarships for needy children.

Besides religious festivals, occasional movies, playing cards, gambling, and drinking provide entertainment to most of the young and middle-aged men of the village. Subsidized veterinary services, the dairy development scheme and cooperative milk society, and an agricultural credit cooperative society are the other facilities available. Conspicuous by their absence are facilities of domestic water supply, pucca houses and wells, steady supply of fruits and vegetables, proper sanitation, irrigation, and police protection.

KAMATIPURA: THE URBAN SLUM OF VADODARA

Kamatipura is situated in the Fatehgunj area of Baroda city, near the university campus. No specific information of the history of the slum could be traced. Kamatipura was swept away by floods twice in the century (1920 and 1972). The slum draws its name from the adjoining public garden, Kamatibaug.

Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile

Comprising around 250 families in an area of 2.5 to 3 acres, Kamatipura has both Hindu and Muslim communities. Most of the residents are daily wage earners (income ranging between Rs. 100-450 per month). In a few families women go out to work as maids, washerwomen or sweepers, or augment their income with work at home. Children too add to the family income by selling drinking water in the nearby park. The literacy rate is around 30 per cent.

The Physical Setup and Environmental Conditions

In general, the slum is over-crowded with pucca houses and makeshift mud hutments built close together. The only compensation is that they are a little open for children to play in.

In the absence of sanitation facilities, the slopes of the nearby creek Vishwamitri are used as open toilets. A common water tap provides the community with water.

Facilities Available and Their Utilization: Agencies Catering to Kamatipura

One prominent agency that caters to Kamatipura is the Friends'

Society, a voluntary service organization that runs programs of preventive health care for women and children, a play center for preschoolers and a recreation program for adolescent boys.

Two distinctly different housing facilities — the concrete two storeyed block and the Kutcha mud hutments — can be seen in Kamatipura. The poorer and the new entrants in the community occupy the latter which has no running water or electricity facilities. Children under the age of 10 years attend a school situated near the community. By adolescence, both boys and girls drop out of school.

Hawkers, vendors and petty shops cater to the daily needs of the community. The main market is only a kilometre away. Buses bound for different areas of the city are available at all hours of the day. Bicycles are used by most males for transportation in and around the village.

The community has excellent access to health care facilities. These include the services of the midwife and a "hakim" as well as a hospital run by a private trust. Those working in mills and factories have a health insurance scheme and have access to another hospital nearby. Besides this, the services of the Friends' Society, a voluntary Welfare Organization are also available.

Recreation

Transistor radios owned by most families, film shows in nearby theatres, outings to the public gardens, the zoo, and museum situated nearby provide the people with ample opportunities for recreation in their free time.

In short, one finds that the urban slum stands to advantage with regards the number and nature of basic services available and utilized. In terms of the physical setting, however, it is at a disadvantage as the houses are crowded and ill-ventilated and the environmental sanitation is markedly worse than it is in the rural area.

SOCIO-CULTURAL SETUP

In both settings, the power hierarchy among the different social classes is concretely evidenced. In the location of the houses, the high caste and those better-off occupy the central areas, and the poorer class and scheduled castes/tribes live in the peripheral hutments. This is especially true for the rural setting where rules

of conduct for *harijans* are clearly laid out and expected to be followed strictly.

Almost all the residents in both Rustumpura and Kamatipura are Hindus or Muslims (in approximate 2:1 ratio), and both communities live in harmony. However, caste and religion impose well internalized restrictions on matrimonial alliance.

Interaction among neighbors is frequent and reciprocal, especially among neighbors who are often kins. There is a high frequency of exchange of food and other articles and, assistance in daily chores, especially on special occasions like festivals, etc. Unrelated neighbors too maintain cordial relations. In the urban setting there is a greater degree of aloofness and noninterference among unrelated neighbors. Petty quarrels between neighbors are common.

Perception of the community as friendly depends upon the length of residence in the community and the proximity of relatives. In the urban slum community, in particular, reservations are expressed in terms of the "character" of adolescent boys and men and hence the safety of grown up girls.

Status of Women

Male dominance and superiority typify both the settings. The urban women believe less in the dependence of women on men than do rural women, probably because of the exposure to the urban environment. Marriage and birth of a first child, especially a son, bestows status on women. Spinsterhood and barrenness are assigned negative connotations.

The impact of employment and wage earning on the women's image varies with caste, religion, social class, and rural/urban residence. Among Muslims and upper classes, employment of women is frowned upon. The women and adolescent girls among the agricultural laborers are usually employed and their income brings status and recognition. Women's employment is viewed positively by the women in the urban slums both in terms of economic independence and assertion of individuality.

Cultural Beliefs and Practices

The widespread impact of the macrocultural system is evident in

the rituals associated with major life events namely birth, marriage, pregnancy, and death.

The birth of a child is followed by a 40-day confinement (10 days in case of poorer families with no other help) to protect the young child from "evil spirits". Christening or *nama-karna* ceremony takes place after the child is 3 months old, i.e., when survival is ensured. The child in his early months is fed on mother's and/or cow's milk, and solid food is introduced when the child takes his first steps. Among the Hindus, the "mundan" ceremony, an important event for boys involves tonsure of infant hair which is offered to the family deity and is accompanied by a feast. No conscious effort is made by the mother or other family members to prepare girls for puberty. Menstruation is associated with impurity.

Marriage closely follows the onset of puberty. Information on eligible spouses is spread through word of mouth facilitated by public fairs and festivals when relatives and caste members meet. Once the partners are selected, gifts are exchanged and collection of dowry, money, and food grains starts thereafter. Fixing the date of marriage depends upon the family's resources on hand and the advice of a priest.

Marriage ceremonies start one week before the actual date. The celebrations are accompanied by "band baja", music, and dance. The expectation of dowry is common in all communities, the amount varying with social class.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

No special care is associated with pregnancy among the poorer sections of the society. There are, however, dietary restrictions, including avoidance of "heat producing" foods, e.g., fish, beans, peas, "hot" medicines, etc., which are considered harmful to the growing foetus. The first delivery is done at the girl's mother's place. After childbirth, the mother is given a nutritious diet—the type of food depending upon the socio-economic status and dietary habits. Childbirth, especially that of a baby boy, is marked by great rejoicing.

Faith in Supernatural

Faith in supernatural powers, both good and evil is a pervasive influence. Prayers are offered to God for the welfare of the family.

(especially children), for a good crop, forgiveness of sins, and a better rebirth. Evil spirits believed to cause diseases like small-pox are warded off with the help of an exorcist (*bhuvu*). Going to a "mental doctor" for mental illness has a social stigma attached to it. In general, urban residents adhere less strictly to the traditional beliefs and practices than do rural residents.

FAMILY SETTING

In this section, the status of women is viewed as reflected in specific aspects of the day to day functioning of the family, women's roles, and responsibilities with reference to men, and the implications of these for preparing boys and girls for their future roles.

For the rural women, the day starts early with most of the housework—collecting wood, cleaning vessels, fetching water, etc.—done with practised ease. Among the poorer families, women spend considerable time outside home in fetching firewood, working in farms as agricultural labor, and collecting *Khakra* leaves from the hillsides for making leaf plates. The ordering of daily activities varies with the seasons (e.g., harvest or loan times).

The working rural women either take their young children along or leave them behind in the care of an adolescent sister or a mother-in-law. At a later age, children are left behind in the community in the care of nonworking neighbors. Most women often complain about the hard work on the farms and the added burden of the household chores. Women are often consulted in household decisions and less often in nonhousehold matters.

Compared to the rural women, the urban women's daily schedule has more scope for variation, and hence is less monotonous. Apart from the household chores and tending of children, standing in ration queues, visiting the city market for low-priced groceries, sewing, plastering the kitchen floor, or making a drain for waste water forms the activity routine for the urban women. Visits to relatives in another part of the city, an occasional film show, or a picnic in the nearby public garden provide a respite from routine.

Child Socialization

In spite of the recognition of the advantage of a limited family size and economic constraints, children are welcome for the status they

bestow on the mother particularly in the case of boys, and also because boys are expected to earn and support the parents in old age. Efforts are made to keep the children happy and satisfied.

Not much is expected of children below 8-9 years, except that they be quiet and not too mischievous. By 9 or 10 years parents begin to apply a certain amount of pressure for social conformity and clear sex differences begin to appear in the socialization practices. Both boys and girls are expected to behave themselves, with decorum, respect their elders, be polite, and keep up the family name. Among agricultural laborers, boys are expected to do farm work or graze cattle. Expectations from boys in terms of contributions to the household chores and the family purse are more blurred in the urban slum setting.

Girls are expected to assist in the household when young, and assume responsibility for housework and care of siblings as they grow older. In general, a far stricter code of conduct is expected from the girls and a less strict code of conduct is expected of the boys.

Discipline is considered important to enable children to learn to live well and adjust with people, and to gain respect and social status. The mothers have more opportunities for disciplining children than do fathers. Scolding and threats are predominant modes of discipline with infrequent use of explaining to the child or love withdrawal.

In spite of the low literacy level in the rural setting, the importance of education as necessary to improve one's standard of life is recognized. The utility of education for girls is perceived more in functional terms, such as, for writing letters and getting a qualified marriage partner. For boys, education is associated with better jobs. Around adolescence the girls drop out due to lack of interest in studies or economic constraints. Among urban slum residents, formal schooling seems to play an increasingly important role. For boys, education is necessary for getting good jobs while for girls, aspirations regarding their education gets clouded by other socio-cultural considerations like utility in the long run vs. present day inconveniences to be undergone to educate them, the girls' attitude toward school, etc. The meaning attributed to education and the purpose it serves in the setting is very different from that in the rural setup. Unlike children in the agricultural community, who have some occupational support, however meagre, to fall back upon, the

urban boys have no such support. Similarly, urban women with some education have a better chance to earn a living.

Marriage is considered a must for all and undoubtedly so for girls. Rural girls are married by 14-15 years of age and urban girls by 16-18 years. Consent of rural girls in the choice of marriage partners is seldom sought, while in the urban setup the girls are sometimes consulted. Many girls prefer to get married into a joint family so as to have the security of the family support to lean on.

DAILY LIFE SCHEDULE

The impact of the family and community on children, as can be inferred from the allocation of time to different activities, locales, and persons in a day, is discussed in this section.

Socialization is a process that facilitates those *activities* and behaviors which are consonant with future roles and impedes others which are dissonant. Hence, the time allotted to different activities in a day, frequency of performance, and number of participants within an age group can be used as indexes to see the direction of the socialization process. The influence of the *loci* (various community settings) on socialization is determined by the location and the characteristic activities which go on there. The *person(s)* with whom the child spends the maximum time and the kind of activities performed with them reflect their relative significance as socializing agents.

Observation protocols/narratives of a complete day of a subject accounting for 10-12 hours are analysed and information presented in the final report of the project as tables and graphs for various loci, activities, and persons. A summary of the same is presented herein.

DAILY SCHEDULE OF RURAL CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENT GIRLS: PLAY/RECREATION

Play features as the most significant activity for children of the age group of 6-12 years. In fact, in the company of their adolescent sisters, the initiation of children into the peer group is very early in life. At the age of 8-9 years, clear sex differences in the play of boys and girls appear, the play of boys increasing in terms of time (30 per cent compared to that of girls 15 per cent) and boisterousness

The time spent in play by farm going children (11 years and above) is much less.

While children feel free to play anywhere, the usual sites are verandahs, lawns, or the roads near the neighborhood. Girls as children and adolescents play near the house, in their own house, or the neighbor's house. Boys, on the other hand, play in their own and neighbor's house, and available large open spaces like bus stands, school playgrounds and dried ponds.

Games with a peer group account for the maximum play time in the case of boys, each game varying from 10 to 92 minutes. In the case of girls, the time spent in play is highest with family members and siblings. After 11-12 years of age, girls are seen to spend more time recreating with peers alone and by adolescence the total amount of play/recreation activity falls sharply.

Resting/Lazing/Idling/Loitering

Unless unwell, children rarely rest or sleep during the day, though nonfarm going and Muslim adolescent girls have been known to rest in the afternoons. However, resting and idling for short periods is quite common. Even in these "aimless" activities, children below 9 years are more energetic than adolescent girls. Boys are observed to loiter more than girls do till 9-10 years of age after which there is a sharp decline/curtailment of this activity in girls.

Village girls sleep/rest only in the house. Boys, on the other hand, have been observed to use general community settings, beside the house and surrounding vicinity for resting. Idling and lazing is generally seen in the house or its vicinity. Boys are seen to idle/laze/loiter in the community for a fair proportion of the time while girls use the community for these activities for a lesser period of time and are rarely ever seen to be lazing/resting in public places.

Observing and Conversing

Both these activities form an integral part of everyday life. Observations of some specific object/activity/play with a definite purpose or a conversation of a long duration were included in this category. In general, it was seen that more time was spent in observing unusual/infrequent activities. Another finding was that the adolescent girl's

conversation was more adult like and pertained to family routine and relatives, peers, neighbors, and marriages.

Of the total time spent in observing and conversing, maximum time was spent in and near their own houses by girls of all ages. The neighbor's house also features significantly. Conversation goes on with all family members, peers, and neighbors, though maximally in group situations.

Personal Care

A considerable portion of the day time is expended in catering to personal needs, such as, eating, drinking, nibbling, munching, relieving oneself, bathing, and other daily ablutions. One major feature was the time spent in fetching water from the well and in picking lice from the girls' hair. Indulgences like braiding hair, tying a ribbon or applying "kajal", "bindi", "nail paint" took some time too.

Most personal care is done at home and in the front or backyards, especially by girls. Only some Muslim girls were observed to bathe at the well in the absence of the males. By 6 years children began to take care of their personal needs alone, though other family members continued to be active participants particularly for the physical care of girls.

Housework

There are marked sex differences in the degree and nature of involvement in housework. Boys do assist in all housework, except filling water and washing clothes. However, the nature of assistance provided by boys is reflected in the low frequency and less total time as well as in the low time duration of help extended.

With increasing age, the amount of time spent by girls in housework and the number of chores increases. These activities include regular housework plus other infrequent activities like pounding grain and repairing the house. Animal care, marketing, and outdoor errands are performed by both boys and girls but are mainly the responsibility of males.

While most housework goes on within the confines of the house/kitchen and its vicinity, the rural ecology and life style lends itself to the use of outdoor space for household chores, e.g., filling

water, washing clothes, etc. The neighbor's house too features as a frequent locus for a number of household chores though the time spent there is quite insignificant.

Children learn most of the housework by observation or through direct instruction by family members, particularly mothers. When children are young, the interactions between the adult and the child are directive in nature. Later, the children learn to be independent as the boys are drawn into the male circle and the girls into the female circle comprising grandmothers, sisters-in-law, neighboring women or female peers.

Agricultural/Income Generating Activities

In the rural setting children on an average spend considerable time assisting in agriculture and income related work. This includes cotton picking, cleaning padia leaves, drying them on the roof, and grazing animals. Boys and girls at an early age (8-10 years) start going to the farm. By adolescence, particularly in the case of poorer SC/ST girls, employment is a regular feature of the daily life.

The major sites for income generation are the farms, grazing grounds, and forests where laborers cut wood and sell them for a living. The home forms an important locus for income generation with the neighbor's house featuring at times as the scene of pooled activity.

The persons with whom the children and adolescent girls work are varied and depend upon the location of work, e.g., the home, the farm, or the neighbor's house.

DAILY SCHEDULE OF URBAN SLUM CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENT GIRLS

There is a close resemblance between the daily schedule of the rural poor and urban slum children and adolescent girls. This is particularly so because their home environments are similarly constrained by poverty. The urban *kutcha* houses present a structural appearance similar to their rural counterpart. The community lacks similar basic facilities of water and sanitation though there is greater heterogeneity in the castes and states people hail from and greater homogeneity in their socio-economic stratification. It is, however, important to remember that unlike the village, the urban

slum is also a part of the city, having access to the varied urban resources and services dependent on it for employment of its members and in turn regularized by its laws/regulations/happenings.

Play/Recreation

Play accounts for the major proportion of the day for boys and a significant chunk of time for girls. The sex differences are parallel to those noted in the rural setup, as is the use of indigenous material for play. Since the observations were conducted during the kite-flying season, much of the boys' play involved kites, strings, etc

The house and its vicinity stand out as the main locale for play. Here too the boys, unlike the girls, spend a greater play time, in the community grounds and outside the community. Girls, most frequently, play with siblings and spend maximum time with them while boys spend more time with their peers.

Reading/Recreation

The context of a city makes a difference in access to books and other recreational activities. Recreation involves a visit to the public garden/to a relative living in another part of the city; reading newspapers; magazines; novels; etc. Occasional entertainers, advertisement vans announcing the release of a new film and the playing of its songs provide added entertainment. The urban sub-samples consistently spend a greater amount of time in leisure activities thus sharpening the contrast in the lifestyle of the rural adolescent girls.

Idling/Restlessness/Siesta

In the urban slum also, children sleep minimally during the day time. Boys are found loitering and girls often idling/lazing, or taking-off for 5-7 minutes and just staring into space between activities. Unlike the rural setting, adolescent girls in urban slums take a long siesta on summer afternoons.

Observation/Conversation

In terms of activity pattern, attentive activities like conversing,

listening, and observing are significant in both contexts. However, the proportion of time spent by boys, girls, and adolescent girls follows the reverse order to that of the rural setup and again points to greater leisure available to urban adolescent girls to "chat". In fact "play" for girls stops being a rigorous energetic activity and takes the form of teasing, joking, and conversing around 8-9 years. On an average, rural boys are found to spend greater time in conversation and observation than do urban boys.

Personal Care

Children are seen to attend to personal care alone or with the assistance of their mother. Most houses have a small covered area with a thatched roof and plastic coverings where water from the public tap is filled and stored. Among the municipal block dwellers there are pucca bathrooms, but water facility is not present because of lack of payments. Children are often observed relieving themselves at the border of a creek, even during the day. Adolescent girls probably finish all-ablution in the early hours.

Housework

The pattern of participation of boys and girls in housework is similar to that in the rural community. In fact, urban boys work lesser than rural boys. Even in outdoor chores like errands and marketing, the participation of girls is almost double that of boys. The time expended and frequency of participation for adolescent girls reveal that they do indeed take up almost the entire household responsibility.

Household activities are done more often independently even by younger girls, though the mother may be around working on other tasks. Within the community errands are, out of necessity, done alone or with a sibling. All errands by girls outside the community are almost always done with a sibling, mother, or peer.

Income Generation and Employment

Major differences appear in the rural and urban daily schedule in this group of activities, particularly in the case of adolescent girls. The children of the urban slum are seen to assist in the family

economy by selling water filled in pots at the nearby "Kamatibaug" or at the railway/bus stations during the hot summer months.

Female children often assist their mothers who work as house maids. The adolescent girls seldom work, as the mothers are averse to their daughters going out alone. Young girls are seen to assist their mothers/grandmothers who may be working on some household income generating activity like kite-making.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Data on child socialization obtained in the present study have been interpreted from the ecological perspective of the macro and micro environmental contexts as they impinge on the child's daily life. Some of the theoretical and methodological perspectives that may be derived therefrom are summarized in this concluding section of the report. The observations that are made pertain to the lives of the families and children who form the *upper strata* of the poor in rural and urban slum communities.

Goals of Socialization

In both the settings, childbirth is a welcome event, and the child enters the world of warm and welcoming adults, be they parents, relatives, or neighbors. Feeding, weaning, and toilet training are relaxed and gradually, by the age of 5-6 years, the child becomes physically self-reliant.

Children are usually within calling distance of the mother and are often roped into lending a helping hand with the chores or errands. Soon all the children begin assisting in the housework, not only in their own homes but also in that of their neighbors. Exposed constantly and interacting with a number of adults, by the age of 6-7 years children begin to understand the codes of conduct and social behavior of family members as well as those of other castes and social classes, being verbally tutored or even physically disciplined to fall in line with the accepted mode of behavior. Caste distinctions and caste related etiquettes are more clearly spelt out in the rural setting, which are fuzzy though not absent in the urban slum setting. This is not to say that children are cast into the adult moulds so early. Children spend most of their time in play activities till they are nearly seven years of age, and though

disciplined "to behave themselves" no active contribution is expected either in household chores or in outside work.

By 7-8 years of age, clear sex differences begin to appear in the children's allocation of time to different activities, locii, and persons indicating the beginning of their preparation for adult roles. Boys spend an increasing amount of time in the company of peers, loitering, or excitedly playing vigorous and competitive games in the community grounds while the girls distribute their time between housework and more sedentary play with peers in the home or its vicinity.

Around 8-9 years, time spent by boys in outdoor chores increases, while girls spend more time in the housework such as filling water, cooking, and child care. As childhood draws the curtain letting adolescence in, boys are increasingly drawn in to male company providing an increasing scope for deviation from norms of acceptable behavior, if such peer models are available. In the case of girls, however, in both the rural and urban slum setting the rein of control is tightly drawn. The girls are groomed carefully from now on by the mother, female relatives, and neighbors to assume the role of a home maker and a good daughter-in-law.

In the rural setting, the environmental potentials that facilitate the role learning of the child stand out more clearly than it does in the urban slum setting. The many adults here provide the child with ample opportunities to engage in joint activities with them. As they grow older, children not only participate in more activities but even within the same activity they are given increasing responsibility. The child is thus provided with the opportunity to test his skills with a number of familiar adults or even peers who mince no words in voicing their opinion about the quality of the performance, yet cushion their criticism with the provision of acceptance and security, and more often than not reinforce the learning that has been initiated at home. The process of role learning is somewhat less smooth in the urban slum setting where the kinship network among neighbors is neither as intensive nor extensive as in the rural milieu. Moreover, a certain degree of reservation or even suspicion prevails regarding the other's potential influence, especially if their way of life differs from that of a child's home.

Sex Differences in Socialization: On being a Woman in a Man's World

Childhood is remembered as the best period in life by many because

it is characterized by play and parental indulgence. However, for girls it does not last long. The negative connotation associated with being "born with a woman's fate" is seen from the restrained welcome to the birth of a female baby — and women in the poorer communities be it rural or urban recall the constraints from puberty — the responsibility of housework and child care in large natal families, the pains of early marriage, the anxieties of delayed marriage, the taunts of in-laws when there is no male progeny, and the stigma of barrenness and widowhood. It is a man's world and the woman is second in order of command, if there is any command at all.

The roots of the oft reported dependence of women on men, and the almost unquestioning acceptance of the latter's superiority can be traced to the age old tradition of defining a woman's identity and status in her relation with the man as a daughter, wife, and mother. Such dependence and the consequent inferior status is also a reflection of the prevailing situation characterized by exploitation. In this world, man's superior physical strength and freedom of mobility (both biological and social) are definite assets in gainful employment and the resultant superior status. Hence, the reason for the unequal status may lie in the nature of maintenance systems that may have given rise to such cultural values (Barry, Bacon & Child, 1957), for marked similarities of social stratification can be seen in Africa (Durojaiya, 1979), the Gulf States (Kazem & Melikian, 1981), Arab countries (Seijeilmassi, 1979), Indonesia (Sadli, 1979), and Thailand (Suvannathat, 1981).

The role relationships of parents as man and woman affect child socialization in so far as determining the role of parents in the child's socialization as well as governing the content of that socialization. A common theme of sex differences in socialization emerges in anthropological accounts (Minturn & Hitchcock, 1963; Raz, 1976; Srinivas, 1976; Wiser & Wiser, 1971), and contextual studies of the urban poor (Anandalakshmy & Bajaj, 1981) and rural poor (Gulati, 1981; Gupta, 1982; Vlasoff, 1978). The mother in most cases figures as the main disciplinarian, as child care is her major responsibility. She is also the main source of succour and nurturance (Kakar, 1978; Tandon, 1981). Even though the role of the father as a socializing agent does not figure prominently, by virtue of his superior position as the decision maker in the family, the father becomes the gatekeeper of family resources and hence of the opportunities available to children.

Girls without exception are expected to be trained for house-

work and sibling care. As stated succinctly by Srinivas (1976), "a daughter was trained to be a mother before she became a wife" (p. 137). With the tradition of *Kanyadan*, whereby parents are expected to marry away their girls early (i.e., before puberty), early socialization for future roles assumes priority. The governing theme of girls' upbringing in the natal home is that she is a guest to be trained for the in-laws and will soon be uprooted and sent where she will really belong. Early marriage and perception of education as essentially irrelevant for girls have been reported wherever life styles are highly circumscribed with very little shift in roles between generations. The relative freedom experienced by boys is grudgingly accepted by girls as the inevitable law of life. There is little difference in this regard among the rural and urban poor.

Education and Occupational Socialization of Boys

The rural-urban differences, however, are illustrated most clearly in the case of the socialization of boys in terms of their occupational roles and their orientation to the same. Unlike their urban counterparts, rural children have easy access to their parent's work site and work situations especially when they are from the agricultural or shopkeeper (Baniya) community. For them the farms or shops do not remain an exosystem, an alien or unknown place "where father goes to work", but a part and parcel of their life right from infancy. It is not only the physical familiarity of spending long hours on the farms or shops while parents or siblings work, but also the familiarity with the demands and problems of the work situation by virtue of being included (or at least not excluded) in family conversations related to most topics.

For the urban slum children, especially those of factory and mill workers or those in government service at lower levels, the situation is different. Workplace, especially of the father, is in a context distant from the world the child is familiar with and even when problems in the work situation are discussed by the parents in the child's hearing, the child has no clear scheme to peg them on to, thus leaving socialization for occupational roles to a later date when he will enter the adult world.

Even with the stated awareness of the importance of education for "improving one's lot" through better job opportunities, school features very low and often remains at the fringe as an agent

of socialization. Among the rural poor neither the children nor the parents view school as relevant to their daily life (except in a marginal way in that they will be able to write letters, read bus numbers, or become smart enough to protect themselves from being exploited), as the school is not thought of in terms of preparing them for their occupational roles. Children go to school when they are young and cannot be "usefully occupied" otherwise. Girls are withdrawn from school because of the arrival of younger siblings and a helping hand needed at home, because they have attained puberty, or because they have learnt to read and write (and that is enough for a girl). The boys may continue through the primary grades or even higher provided economic conditions at home can spare an additional wage earner or the boy does not drop out of school of his own accord, out of disinterest.

In the urban slum the school assumes more relevance in terms of the home in that education would brighten hopes for a better job, but the link remains at best very nebulous. The teachers' pessimism regarding the abilities of slum children and their motivation, the ambiguity of the parents and absence of skills or time for close supervision of school learning related activities, and the resultant ambiguity in the children's perception of school, all contribute to preserving the exosystem status of the school in relation to home.

The Poverty Context and Resistance to Change

Poverty, in the context of the present study is a macro-level phenomenon common to the rural and urban poor, and continues to exist on a nationwide scale regardless of the debates on what constitutes an index of poverty level and consequently, how pervasive it is. Detailed analyses of rural poverty dealing with small and marginal farmers (Dantwala, 1985; Kamble, 1979; Nair, 1978) reveal the unprofitability of small farm holdings (below 5 acres). Fragmented aids make no dent in the circle of poverty, for given cattle, they do not have land to produce fodder; given agricultural inputs, they increase consumption (being usually below subsistence level) with no marketable surplus; and if they find a job in the city, they are at the lowest rung of job hierarchies (as was the case with the urban sample in the present study) with little scope for upward mobility. The consequences of such poverty on socialization of motivational correlates and personality are often reiterated (Sinha, Tripathi, & Misra 1982)

The degree of resignation indicated by the adult women in our study toward their own lot as well their guarded predictions regarding the possibility of improving the life of their children is representative of the world view of the majority of the rural and urban poor. While one may debate as to whether the philosophy of *Dharma*, *Karma*, and *Moksha*, consciously guide the lives of individual families among the poor, the macro-system does reflect a non competitive life style with deep rooted belief in the need to be "good" and to perform culture specified duties. Our conversations with women in the two setting indicated that the denial of options in life was reflected in the belief in Fate or Destiny as the ultimate decision maker, but not in a negative attitude toward life. What came through was an adaptation to the constraints of the milieu, the resilience to cope and manage rather than because hostile or despondent, thus raising questions regarding the existence of a pervasive "culture of poverty".

The belief in the need to lead a good life of performing duties prescribed by one's culture is again reflected in the goals of socialization that are exemplified most clearly in enumerating the qualities sought for in mate selection for one's children: an obedient girl who will respect elders and not "talk back"; a girl proficient in housework; a boy who will support the family and look after his parents in their old age. The stress is on family cohesion, interdependence, and respect for elders rather than on achievement, competition to excel, and assertiveness to succeed, or independence and logical thinking.

Thus the emphasis is on conservation rather than change, the latter tolerable only in subtle ways, that is, if it can bring women into the existing fabric of life without disturbing the equilibrium. This perhaps is what accounts for resilience and continuity in the fabric of Indian society. One recalls Sir Matcalfe's statement of 1832, "They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbled down, revolution succeeds revolution.... but the village community remains the same" quoted in M. N. Srinivas, 1960, p. 23). In the lives of the poor, the most acceptable entry point for change is the possibility of earning a regular income. It is in this context the school education for boys and skill for girls are found acceptable at least at the ideational level.

To reiterate, the discussion examines some of the environmental potentials and constraints that operate in the process of socialization

children in the urban and rural poverty settings. The strengths of these settings include:

A family climate, especially among the upper strata of the poor where food is assured, where children are wanted, loved and pampered in infancy, and indulged in childhood to the extent that parents can afford to cater to their needs (even at the cost of personal sacrifice);

A realistic and practical orientation to life with an acceptance of Destiny or the will of God;

The informal support systems among relatives more clearly evident in the rural setting;

An awareness of the need for positive social change, especially among the urban poor, such as, the need for and right to education, health services, and other amenities.

Environmental constraints include :

Limited scope for social mobility constrained by oppressive influence of caste and class, making the poor inaccessible, invisible, and inaudible;

Non-competitive coping styles partly due to environmental restrictions and partly due to cultural values leading to a feeling of powerlessness;

A highly circumscribed life style with narrowly defined goals of socialization. Judged against the yardstick, "The developmental potential of a setting is a function of the extent to which the roles, activities, and relations occurring in that setting over a period of time to set in motion and sustain patterns of motivation of activity in the developing person that then acquire a momentum of their own . . . (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, pp. 284-85), the developmental potential of the rural and urban slum settings for child development is low.

Finally, poor know-how regarding the ways and means by which to break the barriers of the circumscribed way of life handed down the centuries from parent to child in an unending cycle of repetition.

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Role of Psychology in National Development

JAI B. P. SINHA

Since the Ibadan Conference (Hefner & DeLamater, 1968), psychologists have been debating on their potential roles in national development. Their views differ widely. J. B. P. Sinha (1984), for example, argues strongly in favor of a "pivotal role" of psychology "in defining development, identifying its indicators, designing social institutions and relationships, and planning strategies for national development" (p. 174). In contrast, Mehryar (1984) feels that psychology is too young and too weak to cope with the problems of development:

"... the idea of national development is enormously complex and it is unrealistic to expect a nascent science like psychology to have had affected the course of national development (p. 164)."

In between the two extremes, psychologists have opted for roles which range from conducting socially relevant research, studies of facilitators and inhibitors of development, program evaluation at micro-level, to policy evaluation having implications for the whole system. A review by D. Sinha (1983) reveals that psychologists in India have studied the problems of modernization, motivational facets of economic development, socialization processes and national character, communication and diffusion of innovation especially related to population control, adoption of scientific methods of agriculture, leadership processes and their effectiveness, changes in social structure, caste, problems of prejudice, tensions and national identity, youth unrest, education and creativity, and adoption of psychological technology (p. 160). Despite this impressive record, psychologists have not been able to contribute significantly to the

formulation of national plans for development. Their preoccupation with individuals and small groups and the resultant nature of variables and research designs have prevented them from developing any perspective on national development. And yet, this psychological knowledge of the functioning of individuals and small groups can be usefully utilized in national planning. This paper identifies these psychological principles and premises which, in combination with the principles and premises of other social sciences, can provide a conceptual framework for planning development

THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

Economic Growth

The relevance of a science to development depends in part on the nature of the science and in part on the conceptualization of development itself. In the fifties, development for the newly independent countries was defined in terms of economic growth, which the west had already realized and the newly independent countries needed badly. The extreme poverty on the one side and the glamour of material affluence on the other left no option to the Third World countries but to imitate the west. As a result, the problems of development were conceived to be primarily economic and technological, and the indicators of growth were products and services which contributed to the GNP. For example, one's own work, no matter how valuable or gratifying, did not contribute to the GNP, but the same work on payment from others did. Hence, work became distinguished from employment, and the "informal" economy was made to yield to the "formal" sector of organizations with payment systems (Cherns, 1984, p. 101). There developed a corresponding world view which distinguished the conducive social systems, institutions, and work habits from the inconducive ones, and legitimized the former in terms of the Protestant ethic.

The socio-cultural features of the traditional societies interfered with the functioning of the economic forces and hence were required to be changed and modernized (Lewis, 1955; Rostow, 1952). Sociologists and anthropologists were brought into the arena to help understand and facilitate this process of modernization which, of course, was to be effected through a package of technology, work forms, and fiscal policies. Psychologists hardly had a

role in providing any input except through inculcating achievement motivation (McClelland, 1961; McClelland & Winter, 1969) and modern attitudes (Inkeles & Smith, 1974). There were indeed psychological attributes which were considered to be compatible with economic growth: "planning, concern for time and for the future, willingness to defer gratification, accuracy of keeping appointments, assembling many elements of production into coordinated systems, interpersonal trust, eagerness to cooperate with others on the basis of roles rather than familiarity with others, small power distance, moderate risk taking, self-control, and hard work" (Triandis, 1984a, p. 94). These attributes, which one can easily detect, were the requirements of the industrial society and were incongruent with the characteristics of the preceding agrarian society. The Indian society, for example, valued affiliation, dependency, personalized relationship, collectivism, tolerance, social care, etc. (J. B. P. Sinha, 1982a; J. B. P. Sinha & Mira Sinha, 1974), which may have "integrative" values but were unhelpful for industrial activities.

Equating development to economic growth through industrialization and technological innovations fostered a specific set of values and social relationships which isolated employment from work, productive activities from social relationships, and individuals from their social moorings. Hence, unemployment persisted despite material affluence and scope for work, wealth increased, but so did social pathology. It does not, however, mean that economic growth should not be a top priority of the poor countries. J. B. P. Sinha (1984) observed that if affluence desensitizes, acute poverty dehumanizes to an alarming extent. What is required is a more holistic view of development in which economic growth is integrated with other kinds of development.

Endogenous Development

By the third UN decade of development, it was generally agreed that the concept of development must integrate economic, environmental, socio-cultural, psychological, and other developments of human beings. The terms which obtained currency were *autonomous self-reliant development* (UNO), *development founded on basic needs* (ILO), and *endogenous development* (UNESCO) (Huynh, 1979). Among the three, the concept of endogenous development

was the most integrative. Endogenous development meant "development that corresponds to the internal characteristics of the society in question, that takes account of its specific features and its integrative qualities. When a country develops endogenously, its way of life should be based on respect for its traditional values, for the authenticity of its culture, and for the creative aptitudes of its people" (Alechina, 1982, p. 19). Obviously, endogenous development reflects a radical departure from the concept of economic growth, particularly in the following ways:

First, endogenous development cannot have a monolithic model based only on western experiences. The models of development could be *different for different countries* and even for *different people within a country*. Second, development has to be based on the *felt needs* and the *internal resources* of the people. Consequently, it is the people who can spell out what *kind of development they aspire to* and the *resources they can mobilize*. It is they who are the sources, the resources, and the recipients of the fruits of development. In other words, decisions about planning, implementing, monitoring, etc., of developmental activities have to be made in a *decentralized* fashion. The people have to find out what parts of their traditions and customs are vital and must be differentiated from those which are dysfunctional. It is they who can retrieve the functional ones and relate them to their needs and aspirations.

These ideas sound laudable and gratifying to the national pride of developing countries, but are full of hazards unless pursued carefully.

The Issues of Development

Some of the issues which require careful examination are the following:

- 1 *Ethnic Identity and Social Harmony*. Most of the developing as well as developed countries are culturally pluralistic with people having diverse religions, languages, ethnic groups, and political powers. If groups of people are to plan their future in their own ways, there is a real danger that the dominant groups might impose their designs on the weak ones, thus causing conflicts and even disintegration of a nation. It is here that psychologists can play a crucial role.

“Many well-researched concepts and methods in the area of prejudice, discrimination, conflict, contact, tolerance, identity, communication, stratification, etc., are already available, and other phenomena central to national cohesion may be locally identifiable using the training and skills of social psychologists ” (Berry, 1984, p. 1).

Such psychological knowledge can help in formulating an effective plan to manage the intergroup conflicts and to induce the diverse groups of people to identify and realize common national and even international goals.

Negotiating for Cooperative Relationship. Social harmony requires that the groups and communities keep negotiating with each other with a view to contain their conflicts and facilitate cooperation. Quite often their genuine interests clash. They are concerned about their immediate problems and eager to monopolize the common scarce resources. The problem gets more serious in countries, such as, India where for centuries inequality has been deeply ingrained in the social structure, but is now being resented by the deprived groups which threaten to destroy the traditional (although unjustifiable) climate of peace and harmony. Psychologists can play a meaningful role in this context.

Concept of Work and Organizational Socialization. A meaningful extension of the concept of endogenous development is to re-define work in such a way that a large sector of human resources, which are today labelled as unemployed, can be reclaimed by society for doing socially as well as economically useful work. The organized and formal sector of economy has failed to provide paid jobs to all eligible adults. Rising unemployment in most countries (particularly in the Third World) defies all economic manoeuvrings, primarily due to the built-in narrowness in the conceptualization of work. The new conceptualization can be based on a future society of *Sanity, Humanity, and Ecology (SHE)* which will increase work opportunities in the informal sector where money will not be the main consideration. Rather, work will contribute to social well-being and self-realization of the individuals performing it. It will be a society in which “work will be created by people for themselves, putting an accent on purposeful, satisfying, and enjoyable work, such as, entertaining each other, looking after children and the sick, educating oneself,

playing music, writing, or doing things oneself in the garden, house, or workshop" (Gatung, O'Brien & Preiswerk 1980, p. 102).

Social Efficacy and Social Energy. Endogenous development envisages that groups and communities assume responsibilities for identifying their needs, planning their future, mobilizing resources, and coping with the problems of integrating their existing socio-economic structures and values with the ones they aspire for. This requires competence as well as willingness to generate social energy for development (J. B. P. Sinha, 1983b). It also requires a sense of social efficacy which is constituted of optimism, self-esteem, values for change, etc (P Mehta, 1983).

The people of developing countries are often characterized as fatalist and passive (Ayal, 1963) and dependence prone (J B. P. Sinha, 1970). They need external assistance for solving their problems. Once the flow of assistance decreases, their enthusiasm for development is also said to deflate. On the other hand, the same people get readily aroused on socio-religious occasions. They put in extra effort and discharge their duties very meticulously. The knowledge of (a) why they get aroused and how they mobilize resources in some conditions but not in others; (b) how their social arousal (i.e., social energy) can be engineered, sustained, and directed to the goals of their development; and (c) how the facilitators of such arousal can be identified and deployed are some of the issues which require investigations by psychologists in collaboration with other social scientists.

Global Nature of Development. Endogenous development gives the impression that all developments are local in nature and depend on the initiative of local communities. On the contrary, all major problems of man are global in nature. For example, poverty, pollution, population growth, health, food, energy, arms race, imbalance in trade, etc., are problems which cannot be solved locally. They require coordinated national, in fact international, interventions. Hence a comprehensive model of development needs to have *national perspective* which, on one side, has to extend to cover international dimensions of development and on the other must provide a policy framework for local level planning and implementation of development schemes.

THE INDIAN EXPERIENCE IN PLANNING

The Five Year Plans

Interestingly enough, some of the components of endogenous development were present in the Indian plans for development from the very beginning. At the time of Independence (1947), the country was confronted with massive poverty, the legacy of colonial rule, communal disharmony, inequality of wealth, steeply hierarchical social stratification, and other chronic problems. "*The First Five Year Plan* (1951-55) set comprehensive development as the main goal. The question was how to realize it. Neither the Marxian approach of class conflict nor the western view of market economy seemed to be appropriate. The Gandhian model of village republic was a great attraction but "not so much for material achievement" (Nehru, 1958). Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was deeply influenced by western democracy, socialist planning, and the Gandhian concern for democratic decentralization. He wanted to have a blend of all three in the Indian planning. "*The First Five Year Plan* aimed at ensuring that in the process of development, the forces of *growth from within* are not stifled by attempts to abruptly superimpose preconceived patterns of life and activity. The *strengthening of these* inner forces and the creation of new institutions must proceed side by side so as to facilitate rapid advance through a process of integration" (italics added, p. 31).

Hence, the Indian model of development consisted of a *mixed economy through democratic planning* soliciting *active cooperation* of all sections of the people.

"... The basic premise of democratic planning is that society can develop as an integral whole and that the position which particular classes occupy at any given time... can be altered without reliance on class hatred or the use of violence: (*The First Five Year Plan*, 1952, p. 20).

Under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, the Directive Principles (Article 40) of the State Policy required that "The state should take steps to organize village *panchayats* (republics) and imbue them with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government" (*The Constitution of*

India, 1975, p. 16), for "there are hundreds and thousands of *panchayats* in the country. They form the real base of our democracy" (Nehru, 1958, p. 162). These *panchayats* were, therefore, utilized for launching a vigorous program of community development in 1952 (B. G. Mehta, 1957). In short, development was planned to be realized through the people's involvement and the initiative of the government. Cooperation among the various groups and communities was considered to be the crux of development.

The Second Five Year Plan (1956-60), which is known as the Mahalanobis Plan, shifted the emphasis in favor of basic industries, providing iron and steel and coal which could then be transformed into blast furnaces, coal mining machinery, electrical equipments, machine tools, etc., which in turn would produce industrial goods ensuring our economic self-reliance. Because the private sector was neither deemed to be willing nor competent to undertake such massive endeavors, the state had to step in. Hence the public sector enterprises expanded virtually from scratch into the major partners of the economy. The state had already carved an incisive role for restructuring the society for social justice and development in the first Plan. Its influence on the economy increased significantly during the second Plan and kept on increasing, in fact disproportionately to the growth of the GNP. For example, the government expenditure, as a percentage of the GNP, was 5.57 in 1950-51, 12.19 in 1960-61, 23.23 in 1970-71, and 33.91 in 1982-83. The private sector lost its share in the gross capital formation from 62.03 per cent in 1970-71 to 47.61 per cent in 1982-83 (*The Economic Survey*, 1983-84). Thus the Indian economy moved toward centralization of resources, capital intensive industries, and more controlling influence of the government. The Gandhian influence persisted only to the extent that consumer goods were encouraged to be produced in small-scale and cottage industries.

The seventh Five Year Plan again aims at comprehensive development. The guiding principles are growth, efficiency, productivity, equity, social justice, and self-reliance. The emphasis is placed on the anti-poverty programs for which a decentralized approach is being suggested. The program is "to be implemented in an integrated manner with the simultaneous involvement of various disciplines or departments in a *decentralized framework* and the *participation of the people at the grass-roots level* through village

panchayats, panchayat samitis, Zila Parishads, etc." (Italics added, An Approach to the Seventh Plan, 1984, p. 852). A large number of people are to be provided with productive employment which "will help people to stand on their own feet and work with *self-confidence* and *self-respect* which is the first essential for ensuring their participation in developmental tasks" (Italics added, p. 843). Similarly, efficiency, competition, and modernization are the guiding principles for industrial activities.

"... the seventh Plan should aim at improved work ethics, greater pride in work and reduced absenteeism; it should minimize the loss of working days and increase the man-hour productivity substantially (p. 857)."

All these can be achieved only if the Plan succeeds in its primary task of harnessing the country's abundant human resources and improving their capabilities for development with equity.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURE

The seventh Plan is basically an extension of the earlier plans. Hence its prospect can be estimated by previous experiences unless systematic efforts are made to improve the prospect. The earlier plans are, by and large, credited with limited success.

The economic growth over a period of 10 years has been recorded at about 3.5 per cent per year (Khusro, 1984, p. 838). It is not an unimpressive achievement. But the growth has not been able to pull the bottom layers of the society out of poverty. A large proportion of the population is still below the poverty line and cannot even manage to obtain two meals a day. Growth in the rural agricultural sector has failed to decrease economic disparity between the poor and the rich. In the urban sector the disparity has somewhat increased (Khusro, 1984). The green revolution in some pockets of the country has certainly helped the country stop imports of food grains and even maintain a sizable stock, but the low purchasing power of the people still keeps them on a starvation diet.

The fairly rapid industrialization, large-sized skilled manpower, achievements in the areas of atomic energy, spacecraft rocketry, polar exploits, and ocean development indicate that India is one of the major industrial countries. But nearly 10 per cent of all industrial

units are estimated to be sick. If the small industrial units are included, the number is likely to reach 25,000 where billions of dollars are locked up (J. B. P. Sinha, 1983a). The vast majority of centrally and state owned enterprises show low profitability, low efficiency, underutilized capacity, and monopolistic practices (Khusro, 1984). The work discipline is generally poor and the trade unions are fragmented and compete with each other for a more militant stance.

Despite rapid improvement in health and hygienic measures, educational facilities, and infrastructure, the literacy rate is still around 34 per cent, life expectancy around 50 years, per capita income around US \$150, and the infant mortality rate around 129 per thousand and India remains one of the ten poorest countries of the world.

Reasons for Limited Success

Where did the country fail? The concept of endogenous development, which UNESCO evolved in the third UN decade of development, was in a way already recognized and accepted in the Indian plans in the fifties. And yet, the development fell far below expectations. Why?

Naqvi (1982) identified four major reasons. First, it was wrong on the part of the state to assume full responsibility to plan, direct, and implement policies particularly with the help of an administrative structure which has been bureaucratic and not quite receptive to the development needs of the people. Second, the public sector has been allowed to be exploited by individuals, groups, and certain classes of people causing recurring losses which the exchequer kept meeting. Third, the faith that the law passed by legislatures can transform the socio-economic realities proved to be wrong. Finally, the endogenous features of the people, their values, etc., were paid lip service, but were not utilized either in formulating or in implementing the plans.

Role of the State

There is sufficient merit in Naqvi's contentions. The Indian society and culture have maintained their resilience over centuries by establishing self-sufficient local communities. The village assembly is reported to have developed into a vital body in most parts of India

by the early Christian era (Altekar, 1958). The general assembly was a large body including all adult members of a village. Hence the administration of the village was carried out by an executive committee which in a later period became known as the village *panchayat* (Panandiker, 1983a, p. 5). There is enough evidence to indicate that till recently the village community successfully managed its educational system (Jha, 1983), maintained in places ponds and canals for assured irrigation (SenGupta, 1984), effectively arbitrated village disputes, and carried out welfare, religious, and cultural activities.

It was only when the state assumed responsibilities for all walks of life that the village institutions started crumbling. The state machinery, on the other hand, failed either to revitalize village institutions or to radically alter the socio-economic structures in most of the villages. There were two main reasons for this. First, the government machinery was highly bureaucratic and was competent only in collecting revenues and maintaining law and order in the preindependent India. Developmental activities required a different style. It has to be a hybrid of bureaucracy and entrepreneurship (Khandwalla, 1988).

The problem has been further aggravated by the *investment orientation* of the plans. Development in India is assessed in most cases not by outcomes but by the quantum of inputs for development. Some inputs have promotional roles and hence can have only indirect impact; others have a long gestation period. Yet, complete trust in investment has been counter productive. Quite often, while the government statistics show continuously heavy investment over the years in a particular area, the development in the area fails to corroborate it.

An even more serious consequence of this investment orientation is the excessive dependency it creates in the recipients. They do not have to put in any effort to claim the second loan or to pay back the first one. Their reward is unconditional and is based on their equation with the government functionaries. They develop the expectancy that the government has to give them grants and loans which can be used for consumption and not necessarily for development purposes.

This was the major reason why the Community Development Scheme in the early fifties failed (B. G. Mehta, 1957). While the money kept flowing in, things looked good. But as the flow dried

up, the people instead of taking over the initiative relapsed into inaction. A study by D. Sinha (1969) revealed that the motivational patterns of so-called developed and underdeveloped villages did not differ significantly. That is, the developmental inputs did not result into self-reliance and greater striving for development in the villagers.

The impact of investment orientation has been so detrimental that people seem to have lost the capacity to plan for themselves. Dubhashi (1983) reports that whenever villagers are entrusted with the responsibility of planning for themselves, all they do is prepare a long list of their requirements without any idea of how they can get resources to meet the requirements. It seems that "both on theoretical grounds and on practical considerations the village fails to meet the minimum criteria for being selected as a unit of decentralized planning" (Thimmaiah, 1983, p. 127).

It is interesting to note how the blame for the failure of decentralized planning was placed on villagers and the inadequate infrastructure rather than on faulty planning strategy and the dysfunctional government machinery. Blaming the victim is human nature. In this context, however, it also reflects the absence of knowledge of psychology regarding how reinforcement operates to motivate or demotivate human beings to perform or not to perform certain tasks. We shall return to the principles of reinforcement later in the paper.

Social Harmony and National Integration

India is committed to "unity among diversity" and to secularism. Each group or community must maintain its distinctiveness and yet be integrated in the national mainstream. There is some evidence (Ghosh, 1981) that regional or local identities are not necessarily dissonant with national identity. However, there have been persistent conflicts between ethnic, religious, *caste* (caste and class combined), and other groups.

Despite over a thousand years of contact, the sweet-sour relationships between the Hindus and Muslims have been sustained. India's Independence was marked by riots and bloodshed between the two groups (Murphy, 1953). The incidence showed a downward trend for a while. For example, the number of communal riots decreased from 521 in 1972 to 169 in 1976. Thereafter, it has

again been on the rise. The annual figures from 1977 to 1982 are 230, 304, 427, 319, and 474 (A. K. Singh, 1985, p. 2). No doubt the two groups have been able to maintain their distinct religious identities but have failed to develop concrete superordinate goals which may help them overcome their conflict relationship. The state has been able to maintain a credible secular image of non-involvement but has failed to evolve any strategy for effective integration.

A. K. Singh (1985) has examined development of religious identity among children drawn from the four dominant religious groups Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians. They took religious information, recognition, and preference tests. The findings revealed that the development of religious identity manifests a similar pattern in all four groups. A majority of children learn to prefer their own religion by the age of 4 or 5 years. By the age of 8 or 9 years, the identity is fully crystallized.

A somewhat similar finding has been reported about the development of caste awareness in Indian children. M. B. Prasad (1976) has reported that children have very low degree of caste awareness at the age of five to six years. Thereafter, the awareness increases rather steeply and matures by the age of 13-14 years. By the age of 8 or 9 years, ethnocentrism is also well established. There is a direct correspondence between ethnocentrism and prejudice which is also formed by the age of 8 or 9 years. The prejudice reaches its peak by the age of 10 or 11 years. The strength of religious identity is, however, greater than that of prejudice.

It is worth noting that the minority status facilitates the process of identity formation. Thus the minority group children have stronger religious identity than Hindu children. This is similar to the earlier reported finding of Berry (1984) for Canadian adults. A. K. Singh (1985) also found that the strength of religious identity influences social distance between groups. Furthermore, ethnocentrism and prejudice develop in the absence of religious information.

The implications of the findings are obvious. First of all, secularism does not mean that the state or people should not talk about religion. The state should actively encourage dissemination of religious information without which people are likely to be more ethnocentric and prejudiced. Second, the most effective period to intervene for combating the growth of ethnocentrism is the primary school days. Third, interventions should aim not to thwart the growth of religious

identity but to create a mental framework in which religious identities can be integrated with national identity.

The people as well as the state are aware of the relative deprivation of certain castes and ethnic groups, such as, scheduled castes and tribes (D. Sinha, 1982). The state is also deeply committed to social justice and equity. Right from the beginning, the state assumes responsibility for reducing inequality in the socio-economic structure. But the strategy employed so far is limited to providing job quota reservation in educational institutions, and stipends to the children of scheduled castes and tribes. Such measures do help but also create discontent in the Hindus who feel discriminated. Those who are employed through competition and those through job quota have quite a number of misgivings about each other, particularly if they work together. There are also instances where a scheduled caste subordinate of a Hindu has received quicker promotion and has become the boss of his own superior. These cases aggravate intercaste tension and conflict.

More serious is the failure to design intervention programs for the primary school children. Research in social psychology lends substantive support to the view that if two groups are able to identify superordinate goals, they can surmount their differences and cooperate for the realization of common goals (M. Sherif & C. Sherif, 1953).

The intervention program requires massive restructuring of school activities for which the state does not have adequate resources. J. B. P. Sinha (1981) examined the possibility of integrating the schools of a particular geographical area with the educational administrative system of the government on the one hand and the community on the other. In other words, a plan must design for active collaboration between a growing community and the effective school complex both responding to the national needs of development.

Productivity and Work Behavior

The reason productivity has been emphasized as one of the three central themes in the seventh Plan is the low productivity in Indian work organizations. The public sector, which is the major partner of industrial activities, has been the greater defaulter. The Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India stated that "... it is legitimate to infer that in terms of return on capital employed, the

performance of the public sector is not entirely satisfactory" (Krishnaswamy, 1980, p. 973). He further stated that "... the noneconomic benefits, like the economic benefits, have been realized inadequately" (Krishnaswamy, 1980, p. 937). While the return on capital in the private sector is about 12.1 per cent, the corresponding figure in the public sector is 7.6 per cent. In 1979-80, after tax and interests on loan, the public sector suffered a loss of US \$32 million.

One of the reasons for the poor performance of many of the public undertakings is the noneconomic nature of the objectives with which these undertakings were started. The public undertakings in India are expected (a) to capture the commanding heights of the economy; (b) to enter the areas in which private sector was unwilling or unable to function; (c) to function as a model employer in terms of welfare measures and employment; (d) to stimulate industrial activities in backward regions; and (e) to develop ancillary and small-scale industries (Bureau of Public Enterprises, 1980).

Obviously, the objectives to some extent are incompatible. The policy decision to locate a public undertaking in a backward area requires heavy expenditure on creating and supporting infrastructure. The welfare and employment orientation combined with compassionate consideration require that the "sons of the soil" be accommodated to the extent possible. Depending on their skills and experiences, they occupy various managerial and nonmanagerial positions. Others who are working elsewhere in the country get themselves transferred as soon as an organization of the line is established near at home. There seems to exist a cultural preference for "social gravitation" in Indian work organizations (J. B. P. Sinha, 1985). In one process organization 93 per cent of the workers, 60 per cent of the lower level, and 58 per cent of the higher level managers were the locals. These locals brought the surrounding culture into the organization and turned it into a defacto social rather than work organization.

The social forces took over the organizational requirements. The management was pressurized to employ more people. Hence the total workforce increased to the strength of 1616, although the organization did not require more than 700 persons.

Such an organization is not an exception but represents the majority of public undertakings where overmanning, local interference, bureaucratic dominance, and political influences reduce

productivity and put the organization into heavy losses which are tolerated in the name of developmental objectives. The evidence also indicates that such a *soft management* is not entirely conducive to job satisfaction of the employees. On the contrary, it is the task oriented purposive organization which makes the employees effective as well as satisfied (J. B. P. Sinha, 1973). J. B. P. Sinha (1982b, 1985) compared the above mentioned organization with a large-sized manufacturing organization in the private sector. Despite its aging technology, the organization has been able to realize near 100 per cent capacity utilization, over 10 per cent return on capital, congenial labor-management relationship, and highly motivated employees. Nearly 46 per cent of the shares of the company are owned by the government which also regulates the pricing, procurement, and marketing activities. And yet, the organization is in a way a model employer.

The main reason is a sense of self-reliance which comes out of the fear of getting liquidated if the organization does not remain effective. It has to compete with other public undertakings. The sense of competition helps maintain a state of readiness and cultivates a positive work culture where the managers and the workers feel interdependent on each other. The employees are still drawn from the neighboring areas. The close relatives and family members of the employees are favored in the matter of appointment. But once they are in, they are socialized to work hard and maintain the reputation of the company. In contrast, nobody seems to be concerned over the recurring losses of a public undertaking. All they have to do is to blame each other — politicians, bureaucrats, managers, workers, and trade union leaders — in order to legitimate why nothing can be done. The public undertakings are aptly described as the ones “where action, and not inaction, has to be justified” (J. B. P. Sinha, 1973).

This does not mean that all is well with the private sector organizations. Khusro (1984), a member of the Indian Planning Commission, noted that both public and private enterprises have been victims of monopolistic-oligopolistic organization. Twenty companies in a given line may produce 10 per cent of the product, but the other 90 per cent of the product is often in the hands of 3, 4, or 5 dominant concerns. These are price leaders, collusion makers, and restrictive practitioners” (p. 843). The centralization of resources which is typical government practice also seems to be true in the industrial

enterprises, and restricts the range of competition which is necessary for productivity as well as the quality of work life.

THE POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Analysis of the reasons for the limited success of the Indian plans reveals the absence of understanding psychological principles and premises of human behavior. The plans by and large have clear objectives and a balanced approach to the problems of economic growth, social justice, social harmony, and national integration. The failure lies in poor implementation of the plans. Implementation involves micro-level initiatives and local factors; but the guidelines must be formulated at the macro-level as an indispensable part of planning itself. It is here that the role of psychology has been ignored in favor of the sciences of economics, sociology, public administration, etc. It is conceded that psychology is a "nascent" science in the arena of planning. However, it can play a central role in understanding the way the human mind works, and it can certainly join other sciences in formulating a plan which can be implemented more successfully.

Psychology at present has a limited role to play at the national level of planning. It is not yet a policy science. A policy science is required (a) to generate aggregate data on a periodic basis for the purpose of planning, monitoring, and implementing the development schemes; (b) to incorporate normative goals of development into objectives of research; (c) to conduct follow-up research; (d) to examine the value loads of social policy; and finally (e) to build up and maintain a professional body to regulate the interfaces of psychology with other behavioral sciences, policy makers, and agents of change (Y. Singh, 1982).

Furthermore, policy making has a short-term perspective which is stretched at best in terms of 5 or 7 year plans. On none of these counts psychology is ready to play an independent role. Yet it can certainly join other behavioral sciences in (a) operationalizing endogenous development; and (b) providing principles and premises for formulating a national perspective on planning.

Let us examine some of these roles in the Indian context.

The Principle of Reinforcement

One of the basic psychological principles is that of reinforcement (Bandura & Walters, 1963; A. W. Staats & C. K. Staats, 1963) which simply means reward and punishment. Kunkel (1970) writes:

By judiciously altering those aspects of social environment which constitute rewarding and punishing consequences for specific activities, it is possible to alter these behavior patterns and to initiate and accelerate social change (p. 24).

The general propositions of reinforcement are the following:

1. Individuals and groups experience conditions of physiological and psychological deprivation and satiation. The psychological deprivation and satiation are learnt.
2. The effectiveness of a behavior varies directly with the level of deprivation and inversely with the level of satiation.
3. Reward *increases* the probability that a behavior pattern will be repeated under similar circumstances.
4. Punishment *decreases* the probability that a behavior pattern will be repeated under similar circumstances.
5. The rewarding and punishing consequences may be a function of the social context which determines what behavior patterns are desirable or undesirable, appropriate or inappropriate, and functional or dysfunctional.

The principles of reinforcement explain *how* a pattern of behavior is acquired or extinguished. The social context determines *which* of the possible patterns should be selected for positive or negative reinforcement. If a new pattern is planned to be acquired, an anticipation of reward must be induced by focusing on the experience of deprivation and on the actions which can bring relief from the state of deprivation. Once the pattern or its components appear, reinforcement has to be given promptly and adequately. The reinforcement is likely to make the pattern recur which will require further reinforcement. The magnitude, the sequencing, and the timing may be varied to create generalized expectancy of reinforcement which can thereby sustain a behavioral pattern even when actual reinforcement is not given after every successful completion of one behavioral pattern.

Research indicates that reinforcement if given after a fixed time or number of responses makes the person behave in the required fashion for that time period or for that number of responses. If reinforcement is given at varied time or after a varying number of responses, the learner keeps emitting the responses for unspecified and longer durations. That is how superstition is acquired. Even an infrequently occurring negative incident becomes a bad omen and persists in the absence of confirmation. Furthermore, reinforcement larger than the bare minimum becomes a justification in itself and hence functions as an external motivator (Deci, 1975). On the contrary, reinforcement less than justifiable makes a person perceive himself as internally motivated. The conclusions are: (a) a reinforcement, contingent on a new behavioral pattern, helps acquire the behavior pattern; (b) its varying nature across spatio-temporal dimensions adds to the stability of the behavioral pattern even in the absence of continuous reinforcement; and (c) after a pattern of behavior is acquired, the less the reinforcement, the more the learner perceives himself as internally motivated.

The implications of the principles of reinforcement are clear. Investment planning has to be replaced by *planning for reinforcing the efforts toward self-development*. Once the efforts start taking place, the external reinforcement has to be gradually reduced to the minimum so that the target group may start shifting the locus of control from external to internal (Lefecourt, 1982), and the persons, instead of developing dependence proneness, become motivated and self-reliant.

There is not much disagreement about the priorities of required behavioral patterns in India. Efforts to alleviate poverty, remove illiteracy, control family size, increase productivity in farms and factories, and improve health and hygienic conditions are some of the urgent needs of the people for whom local initiative and participation are required. There is also evidence that the reinforcement, where it has been allowed to operate, has created miracles. Triandis (1984b) narrates his personal experience in India.

“I was taken to see a milk cooperative at Anand, near Ahmedabad. It has about one million members. Farmers, who milk their cows thrice a day, bring the milk in the Cooperative’s Collection Stations. They get paid in the morning for the delivery in the previous night and in the evening for the delivery of the morning

Note the immediate reinforcement. Their pay is as high as the market will bear, and is determined by the officials of the Co-operative who are elected by the members (*Italics added, p .6*)”

There are similar instances elsewhere in the world. Holmberg (1960), for example, planned the Viscos project for the development of Indians in Peru on the principle “... to find out first what the community aspired to achieve and then, through the formation or strengthening of local groups ... to place these goals in broader setting, so that in achieving them the community would also be building a body of knowledge, skills, and attitude which would in turn foster in it a solid and self-reliant growth” (p. 89).

Points and Ways of Interventions

While the principles of reinforcement are operative for all groups, the quantum of reinforcement, its timing, and its schedules have to be determined separately for specific groups and communities. Groups and communities differ in their capacity to acquire new knowledge, skills, and attitudes. The socially and economically deprived groups manifest learning deficiencies (D. Sinha, 1982). For example, children suffering from prolonged deprivation are found to suffer from significant deficiency in cognitive functions (Misra, 1982), and higher mental tasks requiring language skills (D. Sinha, 1982). Furthermore, “the general trend of findings of Sinha and his colleagues indicated that poverty among villagers was associated with extreme caution, reluctance to take risk, and stagnant motivation” (D. Sinha, 1982, p. 201).

A hopeful part of the finding is that the children from the deprived groups are not deficient in basic neurocognitive functions, and whatever their manifest deficiencies, they start disappearing after a short training course (Rath, 1982). In cases where the children join superior schools, the differences between deprived and privileged children, however, increase over the years. On the contrary, in the ordinary schools, the differences level-off. In other words, good schools with mixed groups of students make the deprived children worse (D. Sinha, 1982). Probably, they are discriminated and even ridiculed for their deficiency which further retards their learning process.

Under the circumstances, it may be counter productive to allot a quota of seats for scheduled castes and tribes and other deprived groups in superior schools without preparing the children to interact

with other students on equal footing. The normative view (Berry, 1984) that the groups can maintain their distinct identities and can still share and cooperate if they have sufficient contacts and common language, does not seem to hold true for unequal groups. Even the incentives of stipends and fellowships to the deprived ones are counteracted by social discrimination and humiliation. It may be all the more true for reservation in jobs. What is really needed is intensive training in basic cognitive skills and languages so that the children of deprived groups can compete effectively with other children. Reinforcements are to be arranged for acquiring cognitive and learning skills. The earlier the training is initiated, the better it is.

As noted earlier, it was also reported that religious and caste prejudices start appearing in early school days. Early years seem to be the most critical phase in the life of human beings. If it is so, due emphasis has to be placed on organizing the primary school system along scientific lines. Apart from the syllabi, physical facilities, quality of the teachers, and integration of a school system with the government administration and the community, the main focus needs to be placed on learning activities of students, their group formation, sharing of intra- and intergroup activities, etc. Such a preparation will help them interact as equal partners in schools and colleges, and subsequently in jobs.

Local Leadership, Existing Institutions, and Social Energy

Reinforcement works for those behavioral potentials which groups and communities have in their repertoire. Part of the behavioral potentials have a physiological basis which is shared universally, although malnutrition particularly at an early age and severe ecological deficiencies may damage it. The major part, however, is determined by the social context. Society develops and arranges norms, values, and institutions in order of priority. These norms, values, and institutions in turn determine the availability of behavioral potentials of the people (Kunkel, 1970, p. 75). Even a small quantum of reinforcement can activate those behaviors which the people consider normative and desirable, and hence are readily available. By the same token, it is difficult to make people behave in ways they intensely dislike. The range between readily available and virtually unavailable behavioral potentials is fairly large.

The role of a local leader is to identify the functional behavioral potentials and to show their connections with the strivings of the

people. The use of existing institutions can facilitate the process. Existing institutions reflect people's coping mechanisms. The case of Anand Cooperative was reported earlier. Cooperatives and *panchayats* work successfully in many parts of India (P. Mehta, 1978; Panandiker, 1983b) primarily because they have roots in traditional values and social habits. Members of the cooperatives and *panchayats* know each other personally and often share scarce resources of the village.

Indians are believed to be collectivists (J. B. P. Sinha, 1984). They are embedded in groups and collectives which are quite conducive to generate, under favorable conditions, social energy which can mobilize the groups and collectives for developmental efforts. There are three preconditions which cause social energy at a particular time point; (a) Experience of extreme social deficit; (b) belief that it is remediable; and (c) disposition to take initiative. A leader, because of his status and acceptability, can galvanize his group or community to generate such energy.

There is circumstantial evidence that social energy can be effectively utilized for development. For example, when socio-economic development is planned from the Islamic perspective in Malaysia (Malik & Kasim, 1983) or when socio-political change is induced through the use of Buddhism in Thailand (Suksamron, 1982), or when a political revolution is realized in Iran by the fundamentalists, we have instances of the use of social energy at a national level. In India itself, Mahatma Gandhi mobilized the masses by making an emotional appeal to manufacture salt, burn foreign-made cloth, and weave one's own cloth. P. Mehta (1983) narrates a case of the tribals of a village who were mobilized by the local leadership to plan and implement development schemes for the village.

The policy implication is to identify viable groups and institutions and their leaders, and to entrust them to mobilize the people for developmental efforts. Once the national perspective on planning is formulated, the state planning boards can concretize the plan and encourage *Zila Parishads* (District Councils), *Panchayat Samitis* (Block Level Committees), and Village *panchayats* (republics) to concretize it further and to relate it to the local requirements. They can also help the local leaders to mobilize the groups and communities for generating social energy for development. In other words, the vanguards of development have to be the groups of people who are aroused to try hard their development.

Competing and Cooperating for Excellence

Comparing with others is a universal psychological process which is caused jointly by the need for self-enhancement and self-evaluation (Suls, 1977). Self-enhancement requires continual self-evaluation which, in the absence of objective standards, results in social comparison. Social comparison leaves one with the feeling of being either inferior, superior, or equal (though rarely). In any case, the resultant force is the striving to overcome inferiority and to attain and maintain superiority. Hence, competition is aimed at self-enhancement and is sustained by the twin basic motives of fear of failure and hope of success (Atkinson, 1958). If there is no fear of failure there is no need to compete. If there is no hope of success, competition is self-defeating.

The same psychological process occurs when groups and organizations compete with each other. They tend to overcome their deficiency and claim a position of superiority. Hence competition between groups and organizations is often accompanied by cooperation within the groups and the organizations. Interestingly enough as soon as competition turns into conflict, a counterbalancing force of cooperation is instantly activated in order to contain the conflict. And conversely, as soon as cooperation becomes dominant, conflict starts sprouting (Jha, I. B. P. Sinha, Gopal, & Tiwari, 1985). Furthermore, competing groups and organizations tend to cooperate in case they confront a common adversary or find some common interests. Thus, competition "between" and cooperation "within" or cooperation and competition blended together is required of groups and organizations in order to survive, prosper, and function together.

Competition has been recognized as one of the viable means of making work organizations effective. But the cultural preference for centralization of authority and resources, concentration of resources in government, and the resultant regulatory control it has over work organizations have prevented public as well as private enterprises in India from competing with each other. A more serious constraint is the absence of understanding the positive impacts of competition on the international functioning of an organization. Competition, in economic terms, ignores the processes and motives behind competition which simultaneously activate the processes of cooperation. It is the blend of the two

which energizes an organization to strive for excellence. Intra-group competition reflects the need for achievement (McClelland, 1961; McClelland & Winter, 1969) which helps maximize one's achievement, but does not necessarily lead to maximal aggregate group achievement (J. B. P. Sinha, 1968). In fact, it promotes a tendency to monopolize and hoard scarce resources (J. B. P. Sinha & Pandey, 1970). On the other hand, if it is blended with an extension motive (Pareek, 1968), it then functions as a constructive force which P. Mehta (1978) identifies as need for social achievement.

Once competition and cooperation are recognized as an integrated phenomenon, its relevance goes beyond work organizations. Communities can be made to compete and cooperate with each other for excellence in performance, for resource allocation, and for position and influence in the national life. Schools can compete and cooperate with each other for academic excellence and all round development. Within a school the classes too can compete and cooperate for excellence.

There are, however, two precautions which are in order. First, research on relative deprivation suggests that unequals cannot compete in a constructive fashion. Hence the weak partners, whether they are children, adults, caste groups, or work organizations, would need special assistance before their interactions can be constructive. And, the assistance must be so designed as to prepare them to interact as equals rather than "protect" them from the dominance of others. Second, the collective orientation of Indians makes groups as the most viable unit for inducing healthy competition and cooperation. There has been systematic research in India (De, 1984) and elsewhere (Herbst, 1962) which suggests that a group can take joint responsibilities more effectively than individuals constituting that group. Such a group not only performs better but also fosters a better quality of life.

In short, the psychological knowledge of the principles of reinforcement, group dynamics, leadership, processes of competition and cooperation, learning of skills, etc., can be usefully utilized in combination with the knowledge from other sciences in planning for national development.

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The Challenge of Achievement

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Without doubt, the research tradition on "achievement" has been one of the most substantial, both theoretically and empirically. Owing to the universal concern with achievement behavior, considerable attention has been paid by the psychologists toward understanding achievement and related behaviors. This paper deals with the responses of developing countries to the challenge of achievement. Thus, the predominant psychological conceptions of achievement are discussed and relevant cross-cultural data are examined. Finally, implications of this research for national development are indicated.

THE MASTER THEORISTS: BACKGROUND CONSIDERATIONS

This section of the paper is devoted to some representative theorists—McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell (1953) are the originators of the tradition and Atkinson (1957) the extender.

It was Murray (1938), who for the first time conceived of achievement as a psychogenic need. He described it as "the desire or tendency to do things as rapidly and/or as well as possible.... to accomplish something difficult.... To overcome obstacles and to attain high standards... to rival and surpass others" (p. 164).

Later, building upon Max Weber's (1930) thesis in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, McClelland (1961) introduced the social psychological explanation for the link between protestantism and capitalism. He contended that the independence and mastery training during early childhood led to the emergence of an achievement oriented personality, which produces entrepreneurial character and economic growth. His theory of achievement concentrates on only one specific facet of the personality, i.e., striving

for success with some standard of excellence, expressed in the form of individualistic effort. According to McClelland, this basic motive for achievement is differently present in the members of various societies.

Within this framework, Atkinson (1957, 1964) conceptualized achievement motivation as a function of approach and avoidance tendencies. But achievement behavior as a relatively stable disposition is not independent of situation. Accordingly, the greatest approach tendency is derived when the perceived probability of attainment and incentive value of success are moderate. Subsequently, Atkinson and his associates shifted to the consideration of achievement behavior as a continuous stream of action (Atkinson & Birch, 1970), and emphasized more on change from one activity to another than on initiation of activity (Atkinson, Lens, & O'Malley, 1976)

These theoretical approaches led to a plethora of research during the last twentyfive years, but the glamor and fascination for these models started fading by the late seventies.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING: MISUNDERSTANDINGS WITH ACHIEVEMENT

McClelland (1961) collected data on the need for achievement (*nAch*) in different parts of the world (30 nations) and at different historical times. On the basis of the data put forward, the argument is that those who have high *nAch* are characterized by initiative, risk taking, individual responsibility, belief in the protestant work ethic, and willingness to delay immediate need for gratification. McClelland's work spanned over 20 years and resulted in a great deal of evidence for the existence of a direct link between economic growth of a country and its level of *nAch*. He also found that the mean *nAch* score of a country was related to its number of entrepreneurs and this not only determines the success and economic growth of an individual but also contributes to the rise and fall of the whole civilization. The "Karishma" of *nAch* caught widespread attention of social scientists working in diverse fields, including education, political activity, national growth and development all over the world. Consequently, rigorous efforts were made to measure, compare, and more importantly to change and enhance *nAch*.

Analysing the course of economic growth, McClelland (1961, 1964) pointed out that the Protestant reform followed by the industrial

revolution in western Europe, led to an increase in economic growth in Germany, France, and United States of America between 1800 and 1920. This growth was related to a high *nAch*. He demonstrated that developed countries have relatively higher *nAch* scores as compared to developing and underdeveloped ones. Following the same assumptions, Melikian, Ginsberg, Cuceloglu, and Lynn (1971) in Turkey, Brazil, Saudi Arabia, and Afghanistan, Iwawaki and Lynn (1972) in Britain and Japan; and Hines (1974) from the samples of American, Australian, and British immigrants to New Zealand, measured the degree of achievement motivation. These studies generally support McClelland's theory.

A similar conclusion was also derived from the extensive cross-cultural studies on relating achievement motivation to socio-economic status. In a number of countries and cultures, viz., India (Chaudhary, 1971; Srivastava & Tiwari, 1967); Brazil (Angelini, Bitencourt, Jose, & Rosamilha, 1970); Africa (Morsback, 1969), and the United States (Litting & Yeracaris, 1963; Rosen, 1962) it was observed that individuals belonging to low social stratum display low degree of achievement concern. Another support comes from the attributional framework. In the Indian setting, D. Sinha (1980) noted that the socially disadvantaged students have a strong tendency to attribute success to external factors an indication of low need for achievement and failure to internal factors. In addition to the above, S. Singh and Misra (1984) observed that high deprived children attribute their performance more to task difficulty and luck than their low deprived counterparts. A similar conclusion was drawn by Raviv, Bar-Tal, Raviv, and Bar-Tal (1980) in Israel, and by Friend and Neale (1972), in the case of Blacks in America.

Research also shows that *nAch* is related to gender, education, and occupational level. Females have been associated with low *nAch*. Murlidharan (1970), in India, has reported that majority of girls have low *nAch*. Namdeo (1972) also arrived at similar results. Bar-Tal and Frieze (1977) pointed out that the attribution pattern of females can be equated with low achievers. They have noted that females attribute their performance more to external factors than males. As indicated earlier, individuals belonging to low educational and occupational levels display low *nAch* (Misra & Tripathi, 1978; Nygard, 1969; Rosen, 1965; Tiwari & Misra, 1977, Veroff, Atkinson, Feld, & Gurin, 1960).

These studies shared the implicit assumption that achievement motivation manifested similarly across-cultures and within sub-cultures in the form of competitive effort and individualistic striving. Consequently, they labelled different cultures/groups/individuals along the same continuum or the scale of achievement motivation. They had overlooked the importance of the fact that culture provides the basis for learning and the manifestation of "achievement motivation will, therefore, arise in different forms, stimulated by different situational cues and may be channelled toward accomplishing different types of goals" (Bhagat & McQuaid, 1982, p. 669).

THEIR VIEWS: OUR DESTINY

The studies reviewed so far consider achievement a quality which is present in a particular individual or group in some magnitude depending upon certain personal and social factors. Analysis of achievement in this perspective had its impact on the study of achievement behavior. It was manifested at two levels: (a) impact on the field of psychology in general, and achievement cognition in particular; and (b) impact on the people under study.

Impact on Psychology and the Study of Achievement

The view that achievement motivation expresses itself uniformly led the researchers to interpret available cross-cultural and subcultural differences as an indication of variation in the strength of generic achievement motivation. The researchers were largely confined to evaluation rather than an understanding of achievement behavior. As a result, the obtained data were used to compare the degree of achievement motivation at individual, group, and cultural levels.

Moreover, acceptance of the universal expression of achievement, without ascertaining the transferability of the concept in wholesale from one cultural setting to another and without realizing the fact that the same concept may have different meanings for the people in other cultures, has resulted in a number of adaptations and adaptations of western tests in an inadequate manner. This is what D. Sinha (1984) has labelled as the "duplication tendency". The psychologists from India as well as other developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America have been victims of this tendency. Consequently, no effort was made to substantiate and question the

reliability and validity of the theory in the context in which behavior occurs, rather most of them were busy in developing various measures and proposing universal laws of achievement motivation.

Impact on the People Under Study

Achievement defined as a competitive and individualistic striving, which results in economic growth and success, has certain negative consequences for certain cultures/groups/individuals. As has been pointed out earlier, the greatest attraction of achievement research, i.e., the utilization of findings for human resource development became its greatest weakness. It failed to solve the problems of the people or agencies concerned with this development. The achievement change and management programs were inadequate to meet the demands of national development. A number of unsuccessful efforts provide evidence to this effect (McClelland & Winter, 1969; Pareek & Kumar, 1969; N. P. Singh, 1970; Verma, 1973). These studies have produced a negative self-image, and directed the research efforts in the wrong direction (J. B. P. Sinha, 1984)

DEVELOPED VERSUS DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: A COMPARISON

Desire and effort for achievement pose a serious challenge for developed as well as developing countries. Research and general observation suggest that the concept of achievement is closely tied to politico-economic systems continuously interacting with numerous social-psychological variables. Apart from the differences in technology, values, socialization, and natural resources they also lay an important role in determining achievement and related cognitions

Comparing the traditional (developing) societies with developed ones, Foster (1973) pointed out that in the Third World countries environmental sanitation is poor, medical services are primitive, life spans are short and both birth and death rates are high. Unemployment and illiteracy is the rule, and for the masses these conditions mean poverty, uncertainty, and limited personal freedom. Marked differences in the levels of technological advancement and strategy of national development may also be noted between developing and developed countries. It has been generally believed that knowledge and technical knowhow can be quickly transferred from the developed to the developing countries. Initially, it appeared

that the task was to make available to them that which had worked well in the developed countries. But now it is amply clear that this process is more complex and the cultural values, norms, and interests resist the changes. Kuppuswamy (1975, p. 152) quotes an example of the Life Insurance Corporation (LIC) workers in India, who were agitating against the introduction of the computer technology because they were sure that many of them would soon be unemployed even though the management was assuring them of their jobs. This was only one example of cultural resistance to social and technological change.

The contemporary situation in the developing countries clearly shows the role of cultural factors in social change. Ayal (1963) has empirically demonstrated that the widespread gaps between the rates of economic development of Japan and Thailand were largely owing to variations in interests, and value systems of the two populations. In Japan, the activist emphasis on "diligence", abstinence, and loyalty to political authority was much greater than in Thailand, thus, leading to higher productive efforts by the people. In a cross-cultural study of values Lipset (1963) noted that the United States (US) emphasizes achievement (e.g., egalitarianism, universalism, and specificity), whereas Canada is lower than the US on it. Great Britain, on the other hand, is ranked lower than Canada while Australia was found more egalitarian but less achievement oriented, universalistic, and specific. Recently, Ara (1986) indicated the differences in the value patterns of the two developing countries (India and Bangladesh). Using the factor analytic method, she found that there was less emphasis on competitive striving, personal values, and immediate material gratification among Indians while the students of Bangladesh emphasized more immediate material gratification and self-expansion.

Socialization practices also present a contrast between the two worlds. There is a strong emphasis on the importance of individual independence, and self-reliance in the US (Ramirez & Price Williams, 1976). Children are regarded as having rights as individuals, and attention is paid to their individual capacities, needs, and desires, whereas "the Indian child grows up in hierarchically structured overlapping groups and collectives which are permeated with affectively and mutual caring. Hence, the ego boundaries are much more open there being very little psychological space around the individual" (J. B. P. Sinha, 1983, p. 14). As Kakar (1978) in

his comprehensive psychoanalytic study of childhood and society in India has pointed out, most Indians grow up in an extended family. Separation from the extended family, if it does take place, comes later when the children are older. Even grown children who nominally live in a nuclear family make long and frequent visits to the members of the extended family. This is contrary to the dissociated relationships of the western man away from his social groups and collectives.

A glance at the differences between developed and developing countries enumerated above suggests the possibility of alternative ways of approaching achievement.

THREE MODES OF RESPONSE FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Before discussing the more recent trends and the present mode of response of developing countries in the race for achievement it would be useful to delineate some distinct modes of response to the challenge given by the developing countries. A critical analysis reveals three different modes.

Total Acceptance

This mode of response has already been outlined at some length. The major feature of this mode is that the studies were predominantly repetitions of western studies based on their theoretical models. As a result, they hardly added to the theory and/or psychological knowledge. It led to the testing of their theoretical framework and comparison of the level of achievement motivation against their norms.

Some instances of this mode of response would bring out the main characteristics of this phase more clearly. With McClelland's work (1963) on achievement motivation in entrepreneurs, Indian scholars also started analyzing similar problems. Hundal (1969) studied *nAch* in fast and slow progressing industrial entrepreneurs, and many psychologists accepted McClelland's theory of need achievement as an explanation of some aspects of economic growth. Hundal (1974) and Nandy (1973) studying two different regions of India, i.e., West Bengal and Punjab supported *nAch* as a key variable determining entrepreneurial success. McClelland (1965)

himself demonstrated in India, Italy and Tunisia that achievement motivation systematically precedes economic growth.

Apart from the use of a western theoretical framework in entrepreneurial and economic activity, its application in school setting, to enhance academic attainment, has also been made (Mehta, 1968). On the lines of McClelland's work, Mehta (1969) developed a test of achievement motivation. Using the measure with school children, he found significant positive correlations between *nAch* and school performance. Similar trends were also noted by Christopher (1970), Gokulnathan (1971) and Mohta (1973) with college students in school setting. These studies revealed that in response to the challenge for achievement, India and the other developing countries exhibited a complete "photocopy" (D. Sinha, 1986) pattern, accepted completely the only form of achievement, and attempted to evaluate themselves against the goals and means of achievement using the scales developed in the west.

Extension

In this mode the researchers have tried to see the applicability of the western model in their socio-cultural setting, although the general framework has remained western. The chief characteristic of this type of response is reflected in modification and extension of the general framework with some change or addition.

A critical examination of the generality of McClelland's work has been conducted by Pareek (1968) in the context of social development. He argues that *nAch* alone is not sufficient to promote societal development. Two other motives termed "extension motivation" and "dependence motivation" must also be taken into consideration. The first implies a "concern for other people or the society", and is defined as "a need to extend the self or the ego and to relate to a larger group and its goals" (Pareek, 1968, pp. 18-19). The dependence motive also plays an important role because it contributes negatively. Pareek defines it as "looking for direction from other sources" (p. 119). The general paradigm of development for Pareek is that development (D) is a positive function of achievement motivation (AM) and extension motivation (EM), reduced by the degree of dependence motivation (DM). Thus, $D = (AM \times EM) - DM$ (p. 121).

Another illustration of this mode of response comes from Nigeria

as shown by Himmelstrand and Okediji (1968). They argue that "underdevelopment is indicated not only or even mainly by low levels of resources but rather by incongruence or imbalanced resource structures" (p. 26). According to them whatever resources, material or human, all require concurrence at the three levels, i.e., personality, group, and society.

Drawing attention to resource availability J. B. P. Sinha (1968, 1970) and J. B. P. Sinha and Pandey (1970) found that competitive, individualistic orientation is of limited use when resources are scarce. Competitive orientation was found to be the most conducive to output maximization when resources were abundant, whereas cooperation fared better under limited resource conditions.

Another example of extension is found in the work of Mukherjee (1974). He pointed out that the failures of achievement motivation studies are due to conceptual confusions, i.e., failure to maintain a distinction between achievement value and achievement motivation "Achievement value refers to a continuum which varies in terms of the degree of importance that an individual attaches to competence in an achievement area" (Mukherjee, 1974, p. 49). Such values are learned by the child during the process of socialization, whereas achievement motivation means a motivational disposition. Achievement value differs from achievement motivation in several ways. First, achievement motivation is a psychological construct while achievement value is largely a socio-cultural concept. Second, achievement motivation of an individual does not in itself determine the area of excellence rather the area of excellence depends upon certain cultural values. Therefore, before achievement motivation can be expressed in culturally defined success behavior there needs to be more than a desire to achieve success which will be affected by individual values. Thus, "these values are essentially achievement oriented because these reflect the individual's activist, failure oriented, and individualistic points of view which are necessary for the implementation of achievement motivated behaviour" (p. 53). Mukherjee also proposed a conceptual model of achievement behavior in which the effects of intervening variables, namely, achievement motive, belief about locus of control, and achievement values were considered important to determine achievement behavior in relation to parent-child interaction and socio-cultural environment. It is argued "that achievement behaviors are not necessarily produced by a single cause or factor or even by a cluster of factors all of

which are on the same level of analysis, but are likely to appear whenever learning of achievement orientation is complete during the process of socialization along with the learning of achievement goals" (Mukherjee, 1974, p. 57).

Some minor modifications and extensions have also been suggested. For instance Mehta (1972, 1976), working on the disadvantaged pupils, conceived achievement motivation in terms of "dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs and an urge to improve the life conditions of oneself" (Mehta, 1972). The intervention program in educational institutions through classroom motivational development curriculum as outlined by Mehta (1974, 1976) implies that the improvement in the classroom climate does not emphasize the role of the student alone but provides greater self-confidence and desire on part of both the teacher and his students to improve. The model has also been used on tribal students by Gokulnathan (1979).

In an attempt to analyse the role of *nAch* in entrepreneurial success, Ownes and Nandy (1977) showed that high *nAch* may initiate a person into entrepreneurship but not necessarily make him a successful entrepreneur. Similarly, Ray (1983) found that economic success was more associated with dominance.

A close study of the research and models outlined above reveals that in this phase there was a growing awareness of the limitations of universality and the relevance of traditional framework of achievement behavior in specific socio-cultural settings, and psychologists started responding with some modification but at the core the concept remained a western one. Thus, while psychologists in developing countries began to develop a sense of identity, there was still a dependence on the west for the strategies and measures used in investigations.

CROSS-CULTURAL VALIDATION

The end of the second mode of response came about in the mid-seventies when the scholars started questioning the universality of the meaning of the concept itself. This trend was exemplified in the analysis of the subjective culture (Osgood, May, & Miron, 1975; Triandis, 1972; Triandis & Brislin, 1984). It emphasized an understanding of the cultural meaning system, norms, values, roles, stereotypes, ideologies, and task definitions. The analysis of subjective culture not only influenced the responses of developing

countries to achievement it also gave a new direction to conceptualizing psychological constructs in culturally specific contexts and examined their relevance in analyzing the problem cross-culturally.

In the context of achievement, it may be noted that scholars became cautious about the use of concepts, theoretical approaches, models, and tools of research transplanted from the west in Asian and African nations. They began to realize that those working in developing countries could not afford to depend upon such indiscreet borrowing, and the need for theories and instruments that were more realistic and relevant to the countries where research was being conducted was emphasized (Myrdal, 1968). This shift in orientation had close connection with the emergence of socially relevant and culturally appropriate psychology.

Some of the examples of this mode of response will bring out its main features clearly. DeVos (1968, 1973), for instance, found that in Japan striving for success was more motivated by a concern for the reaction of others or loyalty to one's group rather than by satisfaction of personal needs. Gallimore (1974, 1981) questioned the relevance of traditional theories of achievement to the Hawaiian Americans where affiliation is the central theme of life as has also been found in the Japanese culture. Salili (1975), studying in Iran, found that there is greater emphasis on intentions rather than outcomes. Studies of achievement attributions clearly document cultural variations in this context. Emphasis on effort in American samples (Covington & Omelich, 1979; Weiner & Peter, 1973), ability in Iran (Salili, Maehr & Gallimore, 1976); and luck in Asian countries (Dube, 1984; Fry & Ghosh, 1980) reveal that success and failures are attributed differently in different cultures. These studies indicate that a viable and useful way of approaching the problem of achievement would require the mapping of cognitive representations of achievement held by the people.

AN ILLUSTRATION: STUDYING ACHIEVEMENT COGNITIONS IN INDIA

Scholars (Agarwal, 1985; Agarwal & Misra, 1986; Agarwal & Misra, 1987; Misra & Agarwal, 1985), being dissatisfied and disillusioned with the meaning, measurement, and utility of the traditional concept

of achievement ventured to examine the meaning of achievement in the Indian context. They set out to devise a self-reporting instrument with three major expectations. First, to identify the meaning of achievement for Indians and to examine the variation in preferences as related to the eco-cultural background, gender, and developmental level. The other concern was to systematically examine the inherent dimensions of these cognitions. Finally, to examine the influence of the sense of expectations of significant others on achievement cognitions. Our initial attempts indicated that there are two major components of achievement cognitions, i.e., *goals* and *means* of achievement.

With a view to elicit these aspects of achievement cognition, the participants were required to state those goals which provide the feelings of achievement, and the means which lead to those feelings of achievement. The emphasis was on their personal experience and feelings. The thematic analysis of the elicited goals yielded 32 such goals, representing three levels of individual concern, i.e., individual, family, and society. The individual level goals covered a large spectrum of behavior, i.e., goals, mental states, and processes related to four broad categories, namely, materialistic, positive experience, prosocial, and career related. The 37 achievement means obtained from the data belonged to four main categories, viz., internal, external, God, and luck. The internal means dealt with effort, interpersonal skills, and disposition. The external means consisted of broad environmental factors and influence mechanisms. Further analysis of the goals and means in relation to ecology, gender, and developmental stage revealed a number of similarities and differences. The results showed that the rural participants preferred societal level goals while urban students opted for individual level goals. The family related goals were more important for girls while boys preferred the societal level goals. The older participants valued individual goals while younger opted for family-related goals. On the other hand, analysis of achievement means demonstrated that urban boys, junior high and undergraduate participants preferred internal means while rural participants and girls favored external means.

The range of achievement cognitions which emerged in Study I provided an empirical basis for systematically examining the inherent structure of these cognitions. Study II, therefore, made an effort in this direction by utilizing the factor analytic procedure

The subjects were asked to separately rate the importance of each achievement goal. The factor analysis of achievement goals yielded 10 factors each for total, urban, and rural samples respectively. Achievement means yielded 7, 9, and 12 factors for total, urban, and rural groups respectively. The results showed that social concern accounted for maximum amount of variance in achievement goals of all the three groups. Similarly, social skill explained maximum amount of variance in total and urban samples. Family and honesty accounted for maximum variance in achievement means in the rural sample. On the whole, factor analytic findings lent support to the results of the first study. (See Appendix 1).

Study III investigated the effects of the sense of self, gender, developmental level, and expectation of significant others (parent, teachers, peers) on achievement cognitions. Analysis of variance results showed that the sense of self was an important determinant of goals related to competence and internal means. Analysis of gender differences revealed that happy life and cultural achievement were preferred more by girls than boys. Also they preferred effort, social skills, generalized resources, disposition and human resource as important achievement means. The age related trend evinced that the younger group of participants displayed more variegated goals and social influence as the most important achievement mean. The effect of expectation was highly significant and varied for different goals and means. Also, there were several significant two-way and three-way interactions which indicated joint effects of the sense of self, expectations, gender, and developmental level.

On the whole, these studies suggested that conceptualization of achievement in India does not distinctly involve individual success or failure rather it is a multifaceted phenomenon which involves goals and means experienced at different levels of one's existence. It is related to the individual, his relationship with the family and broader society which can be shaped by factors like an individual's sense of self and the expectations of others. Besides demonstrating cultural variations in the meaning of achievement, the studies go further by suggesting sex-linked, developmental, and ecological differences in achievement cognitions involving *qualitative* variations in the concept of achievement.

Thus the investigation provides evidence that it is a person's perception and culture specific meaning system that counts in achievement oriented behavior. It suggests that different groups or

individuals may not necessarily be more or less motivated. They may be differently motivated. These findings are particularly encouraging because they support *differences* in achievement rather than *deprivations* of achievement. Theoretically, the findings challenge the traditional, fixed, trait-based, unidimensional conception of achievement. These results, have implications for enhancing achievement in the Indian context and indicate the limitations of the traditional model of achievement motivation which has failed to consider culturally specific goals and means of achievement. It seems that attempts at influencing, managing, and enhancing achievement efforts in the Indian context would require strategies relevant to the specific achievement cognitions held by the people.

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APPENDIX 1 **Achievement goals and means emerged from factor analysis**

<i>Urban Sample</i> (N = 250)	<i>Eigen</i> value	<i>Variance</i> (%)	<i>Rural Sample</i> (N = 182)	<i>Eigen</i> value	<i>Variance</i> (%)
<i>Achievement Goals</i>					
Social concern	5.19	16.20	Social concern	4.73	14.80
Materialistic goal	2.65	8.30	Personal and family related success	2.30	7.20
Social progress	1.82	5.70	Materialistic goals	1.82	5.70
Approval and life satisfaction	1.56	4.90	Happy life	1.60	5.00
Family-related success	1.36	4.30	Independence and community concern	1.48	4.60
Independence	1.28	4.00	Social harmony and development	1.34	4.20
Learning and knowledge	1.22	3.80	Social progress	1.25	3.90
Personal success	1.19	3.70	Independence	1.15	3.60
Happy life	1.12	3.50	Duty	1.13	3.50
Cultural achievement	1.03	3.20	Success in sport	1.07	3.40
<i>Achievement Means</i>					
Social skill	8.80	23.80	Family and honesty	6.23	16.80
Dispositions	2.59	7.00	Dispositions (i)	2.27	6.10
Generalized resource	1.85	5.00	Self and environment	2.00	5.40
Social influence	1.56	4.20	Dispositions (ii)	1.64	4.50
Effort	1.44	3.90	Health	1.53	4.00
Human resources	1.25	3.40	Social support	1.46	4.00

Development and Social Tensions

K. S. SHUKLA

It is observed that the developmental process in India is concurrently and cumulatively leading to achievements in various spheres of life. In general, we have been able to register marked progress in the arenas of fulfilment of essential needs, partial safety and immunity from diseases, distribution of amenities and luxuries, spread of information and education, enhancing awareness and consciousness, proliferation of employment opportunities, diversification of avenues for competence and excellence, channels for experimentation, expression of creative talents, etc. Simultaneously, adequate emphasis is being given by the system for the development of skills and knowledge of the masses, and for the adoption of a planned approach toward the development of understanding of the citizenry.

Promoted by these aspirations and objectives, our approach toward development has been extensive and complex. Social strategists hope that stipulated attempts will provide opportunities for adequate exposures and training to the masses to accelerate the process of development and derive equitable advantage from developmental efforts. Consequently, each section of our social system will endeavor to participate as a partner in the process in accordance with its background, resources, and talents. Nevertheless, available information indicates that the urbanite, the articulate, the resourceful, the educated, and the powerful have been able to derive relatively greater advantages from the developmental inputs than those who lack the appropriate background, resources, qualities, and characteristics. It is thus the latter section of society which suffers various frustrations and tensions.

THE CONCEPT OF TENSION

The usage of the term tension implies both dialectical as well as conceptual dimensions, which could be used in both generic and

specific senses. In the present context *tension* is used to depict a state of mind that makes an actor uneasy in his environment, apprehensive of future events, worried for the fulfilment of needs, restless of the assumed pace of a particular event or an activity, and uncertain in life because of competition and suffering from depressions. One of the major sources of tension is conflict of various kinds. *Conflict* invariably assumes the presence of mutually exclusive or contradictory demands. Tension and conflict are both inclusive and exclusive states where one influences the other. Tensions may be both an index as well as an aftermath of conflict. The justifications and rationalizations regarding the functional value of tension depend on the ideology, placement, and position of the beneficiaries or the losers in a given social order.

Tension may also depict a state of misperception — conditioned by various personal and situational factors — the roots of which may lie in a variety of factors, such as, prejudice/oppression and changing social realities. The nature, pattern, and intensity of social tensions generally get conditioned by historical factors, social dynamics, demographic factors, opportunities for competition and excellence, or an individual's or group's capacity to meet the demands of the immediate environment. In recent years many analyses of tension have been reported (e.g., Chaturvedi, 1972; Government of India, 1981; Ghurye, 1973; Kothari, 1973; Nayar, 1975; Shukla, 1980, 1987, 1988; Simmel, 1956; Venkatraman & Venugopal, 1977; Vold, 1958). This paper discusses the influences of social tension on certain aspects of Indian social life.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF TENSIONS

The important sources of tension could be: (a) Inequality in a social system which is natural and due to biological inequalities interacted with social processes. The inequalities could be both intra- and inter-organizational. These inequalities are reflected in the physical, social, political, economic, and psychological spheres. (b) Due to an overriding emphasis on the developmental efforts, over a period of time, the process of development itself may heighten inequalities which result in tensions. (c) The social dynamics and concomitant interpersonal communication — cumulatively, consistently, and imperceptibly — may create frustrations and tensions. Society being both the prompter and restrainer of impulses and drives,

evolves its own modalities of tension management as per values/cultural norms obtained in the immediate environment at a given point in time.

The direction of these tensions — toward self or others—on the plane of individual or group, is moderated by the nature and pattern of cultural processes. In a dominant culture, social tensions are invariably diverted toward the self whereas in a permissive culture social tensions may be directed toward others. These processes not only determine the direction of social tensions but also influence the mode of their manifestation. Invariably the tools used for expressing or exhibiting social tensions are determined by cultural conditions.

The modes of expressing social tensions are signs, gestures, and expressions of verbal and/or physical nature. Till the feelings of a group of people remain covert they may continue to generate social tensions; but once they become overt and are expressed, they may result in conflicts. On the psychological level, tensions and conflicts are manifested through varied and complex forms, such as, mistrust, mental strain, animosity, apathy, aversion, avoidance, fear, withdrawal, inactivity, fatigue, excitement, arrogance, and psychological disorders. At the social level, these tensions and conflicts lead to ostracism, abuse, noncooperation, sabotage, open revolt, armed conflict, etc. The characteristics and attributes of social tensions and their manifestations exhibit both national and transnational ingredients and ramifications. Social tensions may be generated due to the conditions prevailing in a country or may draw their strength/motivation from the support/happenings in other countries. As a result of this, some of these tensions have been existing with different social systems for centuries with varying intensity and changing dimensions. Each of the social tensions may initially appear as having its own particular shade, but over a period of time other sectors may also get involved in that tension. These tensions continue to exist at the incubatory or manifest level according to the prevailing conditions in the cultural system. Historical realities play a preponderant role in determining the shape and the texture of social tensions, and social characteristics determine their frequency, pace, and intensity. Therefore, they have been a source of concern, serious or momentary, for the social system.

In the Indian context social tensions have gained greater vigor and intensity in the postindependence era. Some of them are of

more recent origin. The social, political, and economic factors concurrently or independently, in varying proportions, have been responsible for these tensions. Historical conditions seem to play the role of an initiator or catalyst.

In traditional social tensions, the development process sharpens the fissures, introduces the economic, manpower, and instrumental resources, brings in volatile aggressiveness but is not necessarily the basic source of tensions. On the other hand, the contemporary tensions, to a large extent, are generated and influenced by the developmental process. Some of these tensions are also the outcome of the developmental phenomenon. These social tensions get focused, sharpened, and intensified because each sector or individual attempts to maximize the developmental gains.

FACTORS INFLUENCING SOCIAL TENSIONS

Various factors cumulatively and consistently, perceptibly or imperceptibly, alone or in combination, influence social tensions on a long- or short-term basis. These factors are briefly discussed below in general.

Crime Situation

It may appear that the crime situation is only the concern of a student of social deviance or the functionaries of the criminal justice system, but an intensive analysis indicates that the tentacles of crime are both deep rooted and extensive. Serious social tensions seem to erupt suddenly, but the favorable conditions and mature ground for their growth is provided by the existing crime situation in a given system or subsystem. It is the rooted existence of crime which lays the grounds, and the network of criminals that provides trained and courageous operators to initiate a serious, tension ridden situation.

The social order in a given society invariably not only gets conditioned by the objective social reality of the nature and pattern of crime in a society, but also by the subjective impression(s) regarding the crime situation. If more and more people start providing the smokescreen of disorder in a society and start believing that the crime rate in a society is increasing, it would automatically facilitate a climate of distrust and suspicion in a social system. Consequently,

for their genuine failures or inabilities, the common man may be looking for alibis by casting the blame on a corrupt system for personal resourcelessness. These experiences on cumulative and persistent levels generate a climate of distrust. As a result, participation in deviant activities or nourishing sympathy for deviance turn out to be a potent outcome. Such a pollution in the socio-cultural environment may have its own consequences. Some of them are as follows

Criminal activities turn out to be convenient and accessible modes for resolving problems arising from personal or social factors. This leads to the development of a complex system providing rationalizations/neutralizations for the continuance of criminal activity, thereby creating difficult situations having wider and intensive implications for the control agencies. An analysis of available figures from 1969-79 shows an increase in the rate of cognizable crime by 58.11 per-cent. The population increase for this period has been 24.6 per cent.

The incidence of crime, as perceived by a citizen and not so much as it is reported may lead to the emergence of a feeling that one could get involved in crime and may safely side-step the criminal justice machinery, provided he has the resources. Moreover, frequent references and discussions regarding crime at various levels develop some kind of immunity in the listeners and make the crime appear as if it has wider social approval and permissibility. Participation of even unconcerned or otherwise objective people in violence or riots on an emotional plane may be considered as expressions of suppressed hostility toward this system.

Those who have developed an affinity for a link with crime and so far have not been effectively dealt with may get encouraged and may start planning for a more adventurous activity and a higher bait.

Greater awareness and knowledge regarding socio-economic offences may also be consequential. Rumours start spreading regarding their nature, dimension, and intensity which play a significant role in shaping the dimensions and place of social tensions. It leads to a feeling or belief as if the administration only handles petty or traditional criminals, but has different views or links with the sophisticated or guilded crime. Due to

this the rich and the well-to-do become the primary targets during the manifestation of social tensions.

The earlier factors coupled with one's annoyance or desperation may lead even otherwise law-abiding citizens to an intense reaction against the whole system. In addition, some people, on the basis of their past experience, develop a belief that it is safer to express annoyance collectively rather than individually because collective situations are generally handled with care and caution by the system.

Another fact which has to be kept in mind is that serious social tensions tend to show a close affinity for individual deviant practices in a socio-cultural milieu. Thus, it can be anticipated that there would be a close affinity between criminal violence of individuals and groups, where rioting is an extreme form of group violence and murder its individual form. If the common basis is the tension in the minds of people, then increased incidence of one will be correlated with the other. Actually, incidence of many such crimes was found to be highly correlated. This tends to indicate that there is a common propelling factor which provides the link between individual and group violence.

With a view to ascertain further, the incidence of riot was correlated with the incidence of cheating, burglary, counterfeiting, and criminal breach of trust. In these cases the relationship between individual and group crime is significant except in the case of criminal breach of trust. This indicates that there is no commonality among these crimes except for criminal breach of trust in which a different psychological state is involved. Again it is important to note that the incidence of other crimes is generally highly correlated with the incidence of riots which further shows that most crimes include an element of violence and are linked to tension. This necessitates a mass monitoring of tension levels of individuals.

Social Movements

Social movements are generally initiated by laudable, patriotic, and altruistic considerations, and manifest deep-rooted frustrations and complexes under cover of rationality presented by ideology and objectives, where vested interest may act as a propelling factor. Such movements generally start on a rational plane and invariably have a particular ideology or an objective. According to the means

and modes of achievement, the ends are conditioned by the ideology or the objective. Even the socially accepted means or modes are only able to pay the dividends for a limited period due to the introduction of intervening variables. The actors are generally committed but the system invariably has a tendency to give the minimum concession even after considerable negotiations and thought because the fulfilment of demands of one group may have wider social repercussions. Sometimes, ulterior motivations of the functionaries also influence the decision-making process of the system. This calls for power strategy to strengthen their bargaining power and requires patience and caution on the part of the leaders, even after continued failures on the negotiating tables. In such circumstances, the volatile or militant sector of the movement becomes restive and puts the pressure on the movement leaders to choose alternative channels.

A section of this social movement may start resorting to a method which can be termed as a volatile situation leading to subversive activities or other short-cut methods. Our experience of the Indian social scene turns out to be a witness to many such events. Peaceful movements may also take this form. In addition, over a period of time, the possibility of this movement slipping out of the hands of nonviolent leaders and being controlled by the voracious/deviant elements of society cannot be ruled out. The movement having gone into the grips of such persons may sustain greater loss of life and property than from aggressive social movements.

Subordination

Emotional affinity generally gets transmitted from the family through the community, immediate environment, district, and state to the nation. The emotional bonds gradually go on attenuating as the levels interact. The dialect, language, script, and the culture are also dear to every one. Due to social dynamics no one can be totally satisfied by the treatment given to a particular region, community, dialect, language, script, culture, and heritage by the social order. Periodical satisfaction and dissatisfaction are a part of the social dynamics. Partial frustration/dissatisfaction exists with every member of a given group.

It has also been observed that the vocations, economy, life styles, and social dynamics of a majority of people of a given group center

around these realities. Their life patterns get intertwined with the culture of a given region. As a result, the sentiments of subordination—that they are not being given fair treatment by the ruling elite—could easily be introduced in them by the interested group in a subtle or crude way. By playing on these sentiments and emotions, citizens could easily be driven or provoked to become united and resort to particular modes for expressing their displeasure/grievances. By hooking the sentiments or expressing a danger that their community area dialect/language/script/heritage is facing a state of subordination or extinction, the members of a given community could be organized to demonstrate their strength in various forms. It may be difficult to assess the actual gains or losses to the masses, but the political returns of such strategies are generally discernible.

Status Change

Growing acceptance of the competitive model of such interaction may produce situations/forces conducive to social tensions. A wider section of our society is developing the view that it is not a wise step or safe to operate alone or remain dispersed, because those who are not able to organize themselves continue to occupy a position of disadvantage. Such an awareness appears to be leading toward a tendency of parochialism and evolution of sects based on religion, caste, sex, region, age, etc. The advantages accruing through these developments like improvement in skills/expertise and vocal power of the members of these organized groups cannot be denied. The past achievements and other developments on the social plane make these groups assertive and aggressive in their tone and temper. On the contrary, the traditional elites or prestigious groups do not accept this reality and view these developments with discomfort.

Suspicion does not compromise with the changing social reality. At times they may react in various forms. As a consequence, the methods or short-cuts adopted by the traditionally prestigious groups, or the emerging organized groups may have repercussions on the society. Such events lead to tension ridden situations, where each group may choose one or more methods of expression, according to its background, resources, and numerical strength.

Entrepreneurial

The developmental process has created diverse opportunities, particularly to those interested in the areas of trade and industry. Obviously, those who had/have a share of luck, or had invested large resources, or have adequate links are able to progress faster than those who lack these inputs. Over a period of time, those capable of achieving success faster, through legitimate or illegitimate channels, may behave in a manner that may have implied input of pride, aggression, violence, and humiliation for those who could not succeed with equal pace. Obviously, the aggressive signs, gestures, and mannerisms of the achievers may lead to reaction from the nonachievers. The latter group may start looking for a suitable opportunity movement, or an avenue, to teach a lesson to the achievers by taking revenge in different forms. The latter group may choose its own modes and methods to settle the score with those who have been able to achieve success and are humiliating them.

Neorich Class

As stated earlier, the developmental process has provided extensive opportunities in the various spheres of trade, industry, and employment. Those capable of organizing themselves take the advantage of the available resources as per their capability. Over the years India has witnessed the emergence of a class of people called the "neorich". The emergence of such a class is more pronounced in certain regions of our country, particularly in the rural areas.

This is another social fact—that it is easier, provided one is lucky, to accumulate material resources with little or more effort within a short span, whereas cultural heritage has its own pace and can be mastered only gradually. If our experience could be a guide, it indicates that a culturally mature person exercises considerable restraint, tolerance, and understanding in interacting with others. In contrast, a neorich may lack these characteristics. Coupled with arrogance—emerging from distorted perception, quick success, and lack of cultural maturity—he may compel these people to behave in a way or participate in an act which may invite reactions from others. More often than not, the signs, gestures and expressions of the rich class are responsible for the emergence of a tension ridden situation in particular areas

Urbanization and Industrialization

Due to the large number of claimants, rural land is showing signs of scarcity. Consequently, more and more rural people are being forced to move to urbanized/industrialized cities in search of employment/sources of livelihood. Since the process of migration has assumed a sizeable pace and the price of urban/industrial land is very high, these migrants are not able to arrange for a suitable place or vacant space for shelter. They then continuously change their place of shelter. Eventually, the local leaders, with their own short- or long-term motivations with or without gain, act as middle-men and come to their rescue and help them to get an area of land on a nominal payment for personal use. As these settlements assume maturity, legitimacy, and respectability—authorized or unauthorized—they acquire importance as vote banks, labor banks, and a collectivity which could be easily gathered on nominal motivations. Different political/interested groups start showing interest in this settlement. These parties/individuals/groups responsible for the settlement, the individual group showing interest on the settlement, and the inhabitants of the settlement start communicating on complimentary cross planes or at cross-purposes. Since the stakes for each interacting party are very high, a complex social dynamics starts operating which is manifested in various forms.

The price of land of a particular area and its placement in the trade dynamics of a city, or the value of the property, monetary or strategic to the interested party, also turns out to be a source of social tension if the prospective buyer/party has monetary stakes in throwing out the inhabitants from the area and the inhabitants may not find the buyer's alternative suggestion viable. Tempers on both sides rise depending on their stakes. Tension, fast transforming into violence turns out to be a convenient tool to be used by either side, to settle the issue or to postpone a decision in the dispute.

Unlike the specific factors, as discussed above, there are some general factors which simultaneously affect the tension levels of a large number of persons. In any given social structure, information generally travels through established routes to activate persons in different loci. When any person, occupying a certain position, withholds action in the expected manner, he becomes a new source of information that is entirely different from the expectations of the people. This creates dissonance and heightens insecurity which,

in turn, creates affiliation to bind the people together. The combined force is generally directed toward the source of dissonance to achieve consonance. So, proper circulation of information and activation on the basis of that information is an essential condition to maintain homeostasis in an organized society. Quite often this very process does not continue, which leads to blockage. This may be caused by the scarcity in the distribution system of essential commodities, civic amenities, transport facilities, housing conditions, educational opportunities, employment avenues, administrative and political leadership, work climate, mutual trust, and dependence. As a result the people in various loci are activated, depending upon the available sources of information, which may lead to general tension, and subsequently to individual or group based violence.

The processes of modernization and politicization, impact of the mass media, increasing sense of fundamentalism in different sectors of society, and growing general awareness have their immediate and long-term implications on the shape and dimensions of social tensions in the society. Therefore, all the factors need to be carefully analyzed before understanding the dynamics of social tensions in India.

Social tensions should not only be viewed from a dysfunctional perspective. They have a positive social significance as well. On the dysfunctional plane social tensions lead to the strains, frictions, destruction of life and property, waste of human and cultural resources, confusion and chaos, and uncertainty, whereas on the functional level social tensions lead to introspection, identification, invention, creation of idea/culture/system and solidarity.

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Marginalization and Social Mobility in Urban India

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India has witnessed a variety of both planned and unplanned changes in every aspect of social life, particularly since the middle of this century. This has been possible through the growth of numerous types of resources and opportunities, and the adoption of several new institutions. It is, however, true that all sections of the population have not benefited equally from these changes. By and large, one finds a linear relation between the magnitude of benefits and social background of the beneficiary group. More clearly, those who were in advantageous positions in the past have also derived maximum benefits from various provisions and facilities in the present time and more so in the urban areas. Contrary to this, others have become marginalized, though in the process they have certainly achieved some level of social mobility. This paper analyses marginality and social mobility among a group of the scheduled caste (SC) officials employed in the central and state government offices located in Kanpur city in north India. In doing this we shall also look into the generality of our analysis in the wider context of mobility and marginality among the people in general and the scheduled castes in particular, including the rural areas.

THE CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY AND MARGINALIZATION

Conceptually, social mobility means movement or shift from one status position to another in a given social space or system of stratification. Such shifts may be in horizontal or vertical (upward or downward) directions within the overall hierarchy of social positions or status. However, the direction of mobility will, by and large

move along the nature of structural arrangement and major orientation of a society, where different positions are organized in a rigid or loose (open) manner. Furthermore, in a society where more than one structure exists simultaneously, either in parallel or overlapping form, social mobility becomes a more complex process. For instance, in a society like India both class structure and caste system or system(s) of a number of primordial collectivities are sometimes found as existing side by side and most of the times as overlapping and interacting with one another. In such a complex social structure social mobility would mean a shift from one position to the other not only in class structure but also in the caste system or system(s) of other social collectivities, or in a system combining the two.

In the same way, marginality generally means location of a person, a group, or a community practically "outside" the mainstream, though ideally the orientation may be toward it (Oommen, 1986). Marginality has also been used in the sense of duality where a member of an "ingroup" is also a member of an "outgroup" but not fully accepted in either group (Merton, 1968; Kulke, 1974) in spite of possessing prerequisites for the same. In other words, he is marginal because he has already dissociated himself from his "ingroup" and is not fully accepted in his "outgroup". At the individual level, marginality leads to a "dual personality" or to a "double consciousness" (Stonequist, 1961), where a person maintaining a double personality lives with two cultures and, thus, remains a "cultural hybrid" sharing intimately traditions of two distinct groups of people (Park, 1928). But what will happen to his membership or status in the "ingroup"? Will he be able to retain his membership, or will his status be enhanced or lowered in the "ingroup" because of his "outgroup" orientation? In fact, analysing dysfunctionality of anticipatory socialization (reference group behavior) in relatively closed social structure, Merton (1968) states that a person "would not find acceptance by the group to which he aspires and would probably lose acceptance, because of his outgroup orientation, by the group to which he belongs. This latter type of case will be recognized as that of the marginal man, poised on the edge of several groups but fully accepted by none of them" (p 319).

Marginality may further be viewed in terms of the relations between the centre and periphery (Kananaikil, 1983; Oommen,

1986), where a marginal man, or group, or community located at the periphery is practically deprived of all resources and opportunities including the prestige though he or she may be part of a total system consisting of both the centre and the periphery. The cases of unsettled migrants and urban poor in India and elsewhere, or of the Blacks in the American Ghettos who are generally located at the periphery or in other undeveloped parts of the city, may be cited. Similarly, those settled at the outskirts or in hamlets of villages may also be regarded as marginals. The untouchables or SCs living in the Indian villages are the best case in point. Being out of the mainstream, though part of the same culture even if unsuccessfully oriented to join the mainstream, they are marginal. Finally, a socially mobile person, group, or community as such may reach a certain level of achievement and, in absence of complete assimilation, may be treated as marginal by both the referent and the parental stratum with which there does not remain any psychological identification. Such a state has also been regarded as one of "semi-limbo" (Isaacs, 1965).

In view of the above explanations of social mobility and marginality or marginalization in the Indian context, one would obviously go for their measurement. Social mobility in the said perspective is to be measured not along one dimension like occupation for mobility in class structure, or along birth or ritual and religious status for mobility in the caste system or the system of other primordial collectivity. Rather, a comprehensive measurement of social mobility can be done only along multiple dimensions, such as, education, occupation, social class, social power (Lipset & Zetterberg, 1966), and also status in caste or primordial collectivism, though all these dimensions may not carry equal but relatively varying values. The caste system has undergone, in the present time, a variety of changes and has become an "adaptive structure" (Gould, 1963) where it frequently interacts with elements of the class structure or other primordial collectivities, and through this has also adopted certain characteristics of other social systems. Similarly, class structure in India is also complex where it is mainly rooted in the traditional social structure like caste system or system(s) of other primordial collectivities. Since the caste status of a person is no longer determined only on the basis of his caste but is influenced by other socio-economic attributes his status is now changeable (Ram, 1988).

However, precise measurement is possible only through quantification of certain dimensions like education, occupation and social class though all of them may not have equal importance as mentioned above. In such cases certain numerical weightage can be assigned to each dimension and by comparing their aggregates across two time intervals the actual degree of social mobility can be ascertained. But the same may not be possible in the case of measuring mobility in the caste or other such systems due to the fact that in spite of certain changes in them their structural units or status categories are actually discrete though arranged in the form of continuous hierarchies (Gupta, 1984). Therefore, caste or any other such unit cannot be accepted (separately or together with units of class structure) as a dimension for quantification of social mobility in the same way as education or occupation. This problem can be resolved only by treating both class structure and caste system as separate social domains in spite of their intimate overlapping, and by examining the influence of one over the other. In other words, it is to be seen how social mobility in class structure influences and governs social mobility in the caste system and vice-versa.

It should not be construed from our earlier explanations of marginality and marginalization (the latter being the process whereas the former as its result) that the persons, groups, or communities covered under these discrete phenomena are stationary. Instead of being discrete social categories the marginals vary in nature and degree. Depending upon the degree of their association with or dissociation from the "outgroup" there may be persons who will be less marginal with more chances of getting accepted in the "outgroup", or others may be more marginal with little chance of acceptance in the aspired group. Accordingly, the level of their marginality can also be found from the degree of their association with or dissociation from the "ingroup".

Marginality has, however, been analyzed in qualitative terms, in the case of certain communities in India on the basis of their place in the economically productive roles, ethnic composition, and cultural specification. For instance, the Indian Jews and the Parsees have been regarded as marginal communities since they are ethnically distinct and "differ in the degree of their permeability" from other communities like Hindus, Muslims and Christians (Schermerhorn, 1978; Kulke, 1974). The case of refugees from

Pakistan—repatriated at the time of partition of the country (Hazlehurst, 1968)—is similar. More precisely, these are marginal communities because they have retained their cultural specificity vis-a-vis their identity in spite of their similarity with other communities in terms of social structure (Hazlehurst, 1968). But in the case of Parsees and Jews, the structural similarity, their interaction and social relations, and occupational association in the past might not have been clearly identical to that of other communities in India.

THE CASE OF SCHEDULED CASTES

Before analyzing the relationship between social mobility and marginalization, the nature and degree of social mobility of a section of the SC government officials located in Kanpur city is briefly presented. The analysis is based on the data collected during 1973-74, from a sample of 240 (40 per cent) officials ranging from class IV to class I employed both in central and state government offices. Quantifying the achievement of these officials along a number of mobility indexes or dimensions like education, job-position (cadre of job in which employed), income level, patterns of expenditure, and social power (work autonomy or administrative authority), we found the *total social mobility* achieved by them in the class structure (socio-economic structure). In other words, they achieved upward mobility along all the dimensions as well as in their aggregate in comparison to that of their fathers. However, their mobility was not complete as almost all of them were mid-way through their professional careers (Ram, 1986a).

Social mobility of the SC officials in class structure was also not perfect because such a structure represents only part of the social reality in India. The caste system is fully entrenched in the social life of the people in the country and a class-like structure has not yet been able to make any major breakthrough in it. Moreover, such officials, though socially mobile in the class structure, have not fully escaped from their stigmatized caste identity (Berreman, 1979). Consequently, there remains no option except to focus on the caste system for measuring the perfect social mobility among them. Looking at the congruence between their achieved status both in class structure and caste system (through changes in patterns of their social interaction and relations with nonscheduled castes in

urban as well as rural areas) a positive association was noted between the two. Those who had improved the status in class structure also found meaningful changes in their caste status where, unlike their less achieving caste people, they were not subjected to untouchability and caste discrimination. They interacted freely with people of other castes and communities more in urban areas, and enjoyed a considerable degree of respect from them. They evinced *perfect social mobility* in which they found complete congruence between their class status and status in the caste system. There were only a few who could not realize any substantial change in their caste status in spite of their improved status in the class structure. In turn, they obviously suffered from status anxiety which perhaps would not be overcome in a short duration.

However, those who had found congruity in their class and caste status also conceived of some reservations in their free interaction and social relations with nonscheduled castes on equal footings. In other words, they were not fully accepted and assimilated in the social realm of others, specially the Hindus. It is they who are to be regarded as marginals by applying either power or cultural (Kananaikil, 1983) and structural frames for defining marginality. Similarly, although mobility and marginality are not necessarily associated, the greater the degree of status rigidity (in the caste system), the more likely it is that peripheral status groups (the mobile scheduled castes) and status incongruent positions (which they apparently perceived as congruent) will be characterized by marginality (Hopper, 1981, p.190).

This leads us to review the degree of social mobility and marginalization of the SCs in comparison to the socially mobile nonscheduled castes (NSCs). In fact, we do not have empirical evidence to comment on the precise degree of social mobility of the nonscheduled castes. However, it can be surmised that since the majority of the nonscheduled castes come from relatively better socio-economic background and psychological base, they do not suffer from the stigma of their corporate group status. Unlike the mobile SCs, they are always in an advantageous position, though the actual degree of their social mobility may not be very high. Hence, nonmarginality among them. But contrary to that, a large majority of the mobile SCs in our sample were marginal in absence of their free acceptance by others as stated earlier.

This was more evident from their social identification where they had adopted two levels to extend the "demonstration effects" of their social mobility. These levels were ethnocentric (caste) and contra-identification. Those who believed in contra-identification were shy of their SC background and they found it obstructing their *perfect social mobility* and complete assimilation in the "mainstream". In any case, majority of the mobile SCs believing in contra-identification equated their achieved social status either with that of the middle class(es) or with the one in the noncaste class system as doctrinated in Buddhism or Marxism. However, the percentage of those who identified with the middle class status was larger than those who identified with the latter. This also coincided with the higher degree of social mobility achieved by them. The second level of identification was ethnocentric or caste-centric in which they disclosed, without any hesitation, their caste background and strongly identified with it. In this was a majority of those who had not achieved much social mobility. But they were proud of their caste background and even wanted to demonstrate their little achievements by relating it to their traditionally low caste status. Such manifestation was noted even in reference to their own caste people who were not their equals.

Thus, marginality was seen in both the cases where the former did not belong to the middle class(es) due to historical reasons, their different social background, and a very recent social formation of their middle class status. That is why they are termed as the "new middle class" (Ram, 1988). Similarly, the noncaste classes were not fully accepted by the former in particular and the larger group in general. They were marginal even in terms of their "ingroup" association as these more socially mobile kept their distance from those less mobile and both found their acceptance somewhat difficult in the "ingroup".

On considering marginality even in the sense of being "outside" the mainstream or located at the periphery, either social or physical, it may be argued that the mobile SCs and more so the less mobile ones, are marginal. The mobile SCs are marginal as they are still outside the basic organization of the mainstream. As mentioned above, in majority of the cases they were excluded from the most intimate relationships even with their NSC acquaintances. Many a time their presence was not solicited on some auspicious occasions at the place of their most intimate NSC friends. This was more

evident from their interaction with NSC people at the place of their origin, mostly villages where they used to visit occasionally

Finally, their marginality in terms of their location at the periphery of the city was not clearly observed because the periphery itself has acquired considerable shift in its economic value and prestige in the recent years. It has attracted the higher classes for constructing their houses and also getting along with their social and economic pursuits. Obviously, this is an expensive proposition for the SCs, including the mobile ones, to remain at the periphery. In such situations the less mobile SCs are either thrown further away to the outer periphery or they remain confined to the underdeveloped localities, mainly the slums in cities. Even the mobile SCs are spatially segregated in urban areas (see for instance, Isaacs, 1965 D'Souza, 1978). It was noted that a majority of the mobile SCs lived in the localities either exclusively of their own caste people or of both the SCs and NSCs. Only in a few cases they lived exclusively in the localities of the NSCs in the city. In the former cases, they were unable to rent houses in the localities of the NSCs due to high rent but more due to the prejudices and discriminations practised, in one form or the other, against the SCs in the cities. Since the SC localities in the city are less developed, their marginality was observed on the spatial ground even if they were not located at the periphery of the city.

The preceding analysis, although based on limited data, appears relevant to other situations involving land, industrial employment, and political power. For instance, the SCs in different parts of the country are both socially and psychologically mobile in the present time though the degree of their mobility varies from rural to urban areas where it is more in the latter than in the former. It also varies from one dimension, like education, to others like income. From this vantage point, it is generally said that there are certain SCs like the Maharas in Maharashtra, Chamars in U.P. and Bihar, Malas and Maligas in Andhra Pradesh who are more socially mobile than other SCs in the country. This remains a matter to be empirically verified. However, at this stage it may be argued that there are quite a few individuals and their families from amongst these castes who are more socially mobile and not the castes as such. That means, those who have better access to the various types of resources and opportunities have also achieved greater social mobility irrespective of their caste background.

As stated earlier, marginality is not a homogeneous phenomenon. It varies in degree where socially mobile people, group, or community may be more or less marginal depending on the degree of their acceptability by the reference group. For instance, there are people who are marginal from the point of view of a larger group where they seek their entry but they themselves serve as reference for others who lag behind them. They also may not allow others to be their social equals. We have mentioned elsewhere (Ram, 1986b) that there are largely two groups of the SCs in Kanpur city. There are those who are more socially mobile and, thus, have a privileged position in an overall system of social stratification in the city. Others are less mobile and underprivileged not only in comparison to the former but also in comparison to a large majority of people both privileged and underprivileged in the city. Then, they are not easily accepted by the more socially mobile SCs though the mobile ones consider them politically and on some other occasions as their social equals. However, the SCs as a whole are regarded marginals in terms of their outcast image, cultural diversity with "inferiority" of their culture and, hence, lack of their integration (unity) in Hindu society, and also powerlessness (Kananaikil, 1983).

In the absence of social permeability, what happens to the marginals? Whether they renew their association with the "ingroup" or try more vigorously to acquire a berth (status) in the desired "outgroup" even at the cost of subordination or confrontation? The former will not bring them out of marginality whereas the latter may or may not do so. We have mentioned elsewhere (Ram, 1977) that in the larger social context social mobility, including the psychological one, of the SCs results in conflict and antagonism between them and others especially in the rural areas. In our urban sample we have also found that in the case of imperfect social mobility the officials suffered from status anxiety and relative deprivation. In turn, they had developed latent anguish toward the existing social system and the same gets manifested on one or the other occasion.

But it is amply clear that confrontation is not a proper strategy with which to overcome marginality of the mobile SCs or for that matter any caste or community. One may suggest "to put equality in the place of hierarchy and the individual in the place of caste" (Beteille, 1986, p. 123), or any other primordial social category as a viable strategy. But the same is possible only if the society as such is fully oriented toward civic values, equal level of achievement for

all, and the individuals are socially mobile at the same pace. Social equality and individualism may help to resolve the problem of marginality of a group of community but in no case may this overcome the marginality of man who is most exposed to the universal winds that sweep the skies and he needs that challenging exposure for his survival (Rungachary, 1973). Perhaps the same may be resolved through a proper systemic growth, balanced economic development, and emergence of a civic oriented society in which humanism and moral order enjoy the highest esteem and the man is placed in the centre.

It is, however, true that a number of new institutions like democracy, secularism, adult franchise, "uniform" educational system, and processes like technology, industrialization and economic development and modernization have completely failed to evolve an egalitarian, just, and civic oriented society in India. Social mobility as a strategy to improve status is restricted to the limited groups and individuals including those who have traditionally been deprived. Various types of disparities and social inequalities, including the new ones, have increased in spite of the best intentions and efforts of the government and other agencies. However, social mobility has come to the surface, in the case of larger groups, not only in the form of improvement in objective conditions but also in the form of increase in the subjective awareness and social consciousness. The scheduled castes are no exception to such development both in rural and urban areas. Hence, their marginality at the group and individual levels.

CONCLUSION

Three main facts emerge from the present analysis. One, social mobility in general has its limitation and is not often successful in the case of the SCs. It does not necessarily bring them out of their stigmatized social identity even if they are at the highest level of their achievement. Two, social mobility may not always be associated with marginality. That means, it may result in positive acceptance of a mobile person, group, or a community by the reference group/individual or community. But in the case of SCs there are greater chances of strong association between the two processes — social mobility and marginalization from the point of view of the perspectives discussed in this paper. Finally, a negative association may also

be found between these processes if the socially mobiles are not accepted by their referents. We have seen in our analysis that this may result in conflict between the marginals and their referents. Such a situation can be avoided and marginality, overcome only if there emerges a civic oriented society which confers the highest value on the humanistic and moral order of man.

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Political Psychology

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Political psychology is the study of behavior resulting from an interaction between psychological and political variables. It is supposed to have come into being in 1930 with Lasswell's *Psychopathology and Politics*, although Ginneken (1988) insists on its Latin origins in Paine and Mosca. It, however, became a well-defined field only in the 1970s, with a *Handbook* (Knutson, 1973), a professional organization (International Society of Political Psychology, 1977), a journal (*Political Psychology*, 1979), and several textbooks.

Two circumstances helped political psychology to acquire an identity. First, the 1960s shook the complacency of the postwar world and provoked a search for "better management techniques" and "new alternative approaches". Second, the "behavioral revolution" in political science facilitated the search by imparting training in methods and techniques of behavioral research. The "revolution" reached the Indian subcontinent, but the mainstream of political science remained unaffected by it, so that even those who saw the need for the search of management techniques found themselves unequal to the task. Psychologists who had been partners in the revolution and were keen to extend the frontiers of their discipline to "fields fresh and pastures new" readily lent their energies to the search.

In India, the fourth General Elections were the first to be held in the absence of Nehru's charismatic leadership. The ruling Congress party saw in the elections a challenge to their supremacy and sought the help of social scientists in an empirical and analytical study of the elections. Political scientists, psychologists, and sociologists collaborated in the study. This was the beginning of political psychology in India. But while political scientists did not pursue the

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opening, psychologists persevered. What psychologists have been able to do and achieve in the field is the burden of this chapter.

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Social Identity

E. S. K. Ghosh (1974) studied the development of social identity in Indian children. Social identity is perceived to consist in similarities of ingroup and distinctive dissimilarities of outgroups as well as a preference for idealization of the characteristics of the ingroup and a dislike of those of the outgroup. The subjects comprised 240 students equally divided into three age groups of 8, 9, and 10 years; into boys and girls; into those studying in English medium and those studying in regional medium schools; and those drawn from the states of Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh. The study was carried out in two parts. In the first part Tajfel's technique was used to find out the preference for photographs of people of their own region or nation. In the second part 15 national leaders were rated by subjects and the self-ratings compared with the ratings of others. In the first "experiment" the variables of age, sex, and medium of instruction were found to be significant at the national but insignificant at the regional level. In the second "experiment", the variables of sex, medium of instruction, and state of domicile were found to be significant at both the national and regional levels.

Political Attitudes

Raj Deo Dixit (1984) inquired into the relationship of political attitudes to education and the family's political affiliation. The subjects comprising 320 students drawn equally from families with and without political affiliation, were further divided into two streams of education (Arts and Science) and four levels of education (high school, intermediate, undergraduate, and postgraduate). They were administered a political attitude questionnaire consisting of 50 yes-no items. The score on the political attitude scale decreased with increasing level of education, and was greater for Arts than Science students in the beginning but lesser at the postgraduate level. Political affiliation of family members was not significantly related to the political attitudes of students, except in interaction

with education. The findings of the study are unusual. Usually there is a similarity in the political attitudes of family members and children. Malik (1979) in a study of secondary school children in north India found that children had internalized the party preferences and political attitudes of their parents.

Sense of Political Efficacy

Sushma Washington (1984) studied the political socialization of Indian children belonging to the three age groups of 7–10, 10–11, and 14–16 years, two sexes, and three levels of the socio-economic structure. She took two measures of political socialization: Easton and Dennis' Questionnaire (rendered into Hindi), and a scale of the Sense of Political Efficacy formulated by her. The questionnaire was administered to 160 subjects but the scale only to selected subjects. She found that at the stage of politicization, there was an increasingly higher response to the concepts of Independence, Flag, Elections, Policemen, and President with increasing age and socio-economic status for male subjects. At the stage of personalization, there were correct responses to political figures in all the three age groups, both sexes, and the three socio-economic groups. The correct responses increased with age and were significantly more for males and for higher socio-economic groups. At the stage of idealization, Police and President were considered as agencies for making laws for countrymen by age groups I and II and SES groups I and III; the preference for other pairs of figures used showed a significant sex difference. At the stage of idealization, the older the subject, the more likely was the subject to offer a higher evaluation of institutions like the Government and Supreme Court; male subjects possessed greater knowledge of the functioning of these institutions. In her inquiry into the sense of political efficacy, Washington made a distinction between personal competence and administrative competence. She found that both varied significantly with age, sex, and SES. Administrative competence was significantly high when an interaction of age and sex, age and SES, and age, sex, and SES occurred. The interactions of age and sex, and of age and SES were not significant for personal or subjective competence. Double interactions for both the competencies were not significant, but triple interactions, for each competence, were separately and also jointly significant.

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The study of political socialization is singularly important to both political scientists and psychologists. New nations have to develop new loyalties in place of old ones. This is sometimes done by reteaching adults, but more often by changing the system of youth education. Even in established nations, subcultures of discontent pose a threat to their stability and peace; preadult attitudes conduce political stability. The feeling of subjective or personal competence has direct consequences for an individual's dealing with the world and society for meeting his own needs and goals. Despite the value of the study, it has not been taken seriously in India. Nirmal Kanti Ghosh (1981) emphasized the urgency of such studies in our country in view of the rise of authoritarian tendencies in the recent past, existence of multiparty system professing conflicting ideologies, increasing control of the government over mass media; existence of parochial, subject, and participatory cultures in different regions of the country; tribal uprisings in the east; terrorism in Punjab, agitations in Assam and Gujarat; and the rise of the personality cult accompanied by the culture of sychophancy. The studies of political socialization cited earlier are but a drop in the ocean. They are not free from deficiencies either—weakness in research design, in operationalization of concepts, tools used, and statistical techniques employed. Communalism is a chronic problem of the country. It is being transformed into fundamentalism. There is an urgent need for discovering who becomes a communalist and why. Political socialization is an ideal field for collaboration between political scientists, psychologists, sociologists, and educationists.

PARTY MEMBERS

Social Attitudes

L. I. Bhushan (1968) studied the differences in social attitudes among members of four major Indian political parties. He administered a shortened Hindi version of Eysenck's "Social Attitudes Inventory" to 38 Communists, 42 Congressmen, 41 Jan Sanghis, and 44 Samyukta Socialists (all males) of 5.8 to 7.5 years of party standing, 33.4 to 37.1 years in age, and 14.1 to 15.5 years of education. The Communists were found to be most radical and the Jan Sanghis the least with

the Congressmen and Samyukta Socialists occupying intermediate positions. The Jan Sanghis were found to be the most tender minded and the Communists the least with the Congressmen and Samyukta Socialists occupying middle ranks. The standard deviations (SD) were high for both Congressmen and the Samyukta Socialists, suggesting that they lacked unity of purpose. The maximum number of defections from these parties lends support to the suggestion.

Ideology

L. I. Bhushan (1968) attempted to test the hypothesis that the ideology of one's own party would influence one's preference for parties with other ideologies. He selected seven Indian political parties for that purpose: CPM, CPI, Congress, Jan Sangh (JS), Praja Socialist Party (PSP), Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP), and Swatantra. He asked 455 male party members of Bihar, drawn equally from urban and rural areas and equally divided between the seven selected political parties of comparable age, education, and duration of party membership to give their preferential ranking of the seven parties. The inquiry was conducted in May-June 1967 when a coalition government in Bihar was in office following the defeat of the Congress in the 1967 General Elections. He found that group ideologies did influence the preference for political parties; he also found that in each political party each member gave first preference to his own party; that members of Jan Sangh and Communist (M) parties were more uniform in their preferences than members of the SSP and Congress; that the two Communist parties were in ideological conflict with the Swatantra and JS; that PSP was preferred both by the SSP and Swatantra, but it showed a dislike for both CPM and Swatantra; and that the Congress, although seemingly a centrist party, was not preferred by any except the PSP. The last must be viewed in the light of the fact that the study was conducted when the Congress had been routed at the General Elections.

Authoritarianism

L. I. Bhushan (1969) inquired into the differences in authoritarianism of members of the four major Indian political parties CPI, Congress, JS, and PSP. He administered a Hindi version of

the F-scale to 40 members of each political party. Subjects were drawn from two districts of Bihar, were all males with a mean age of 38.04 years, 14.20 years of education, and 12.34 years of party membership. The Jan Sanghis were found to be the most, and the Communists the least authoritarian with Congressmen and PSP men in between. The difference in the F-scores of the JS and CPI, the CPI and PSP, and the CPI and Congress was highly significant, but the difference between the scores of the JS and Congress members and Congressmen and PSP men was insignificant. This study confirms the view that the F-scale is a measure of right authoritarianism, and that the JS and CPI are more ideologically compact than the Congress or PSP. That the Congress should be as authoritarian as the JS is truly revealing.

Raina (1974) observed similar results to those of Bhushan (1969). In Raina's study the parties scored on authoritarianism in the following order: Communist, Jan Sangh, Congress-R, and Swatantra. Mahant (1977) found that religious attitudes, an index of rightwing ideology, were significantly correlated (at .01 level) with the Congress-I and Swatantra (.29 and .28 respectively).

Comments

The findings on authoritarianism of Indian political parties are debatable. Nandy and Kakar (1980) explain the findings by proposing a distinction between western and Indian authoritarianism. The former, according to Nandy and Kakar is secondary and the latter primary. While the western authoritarian finds his salvation in collectivity, the Indian authoritarian idolizes his loneliness and isolation. The latter is not concerned with finding the empirical referents of his ideology or with finding men or groups to share his emotions and ideology and to convert his ideas into reality. Hence it is not surprising that members of the major Indian political parties do not show striking differences in authoritarianism. Kool (1981), on the other hand, argues that studies of authoritarian personality are contaminated by a failure to distinguish between conservatism and authoritarianism. He also points to an ambiguity in the use of "authoritarian". If a person likes authority and desires to exercise it we call him "authoritarian"; we also call a person "authoritarian" who is incapable of exercising authority but simply admires it. He also points out that attitudes conventionally called authoritarian

do not predict conventionally authoritarian behavior. And finally, the historical perspective in which the concept of authoritarianism was developed in 1950 has changed substantially. The moral of the debate is that studies of members of political parties should make use of other relevant variables like dogmatism, conservatism, and alienation.

LEGISLATORS

Two studies of Indian women legislators were made by M. R. Rastogi. In the first study (1983) 30 women legislators of U.P. and 30 housewives matching them in age and education were administered Ziller's scales of self-esteem and self-complexity, and Dean's Alienation scale. The legislators were found to be higher on self-esteem and lower on responsiveness and alienation than the housewives. Self-esteem was found to be inversely related to alienation and responsiveness. In the second study M. R. Rastogi (1985) gave the same legislators and housewives five TAT cards for measuring the need for dominance and the need for aggression, along with Campbell's Sense of Political Efficacy Scale. The legislators compared to housewives were found to be higher in the needs for dominance and aggression as well as in the sense of political efficacy.

Mathur (1981-82) administered a Hindi version of Eysenck's Radicalism-Conservatism scale and a Leadership Style "test" to 100 MLAs of Rajasthan, in proportion to their party strength but selected on availability basis. Out of the 100 MLAs 78 belonged to the Congress I, 11 to leftist parties, and 11 to rightist parties. Three styles of leadership were distinguished: nurturant, authoritarian, and participative. Irrespective of party affiliation, MLAs adopting the nurturant and participative styles were more radical than conservative, and those adopting the authoritarian style more conservative than radical. The difference between conservative and radical scores of the Congress MLAs was statistically significant for all the three styles of leadership. Admittedly the results are "paradoxical". This may be due to the manner in which the respondents were canvassed and selected. The questionnaires were left with the respondents and collected later; one cannot be sure that the questionnaires were actually filled up by the respondents.

Vimla Agarwal and Purnima Agarwal (1981) undertook two studies (1968, 1981) of U.P. legislators to test the hypotheses that

the legislators would give higher ranks to their own party leaders than to leaders of other parties, and that there would be more agreement in preferences of legislators of ingroups than those of outgroups. In the first study 24 legislators acted as subjects; they belonged to six political parties. Four top leaders of each party were selected to indicate their preference. In the second study, 10 legislators acted as subjects; they belonged to five parties and one leader of each party was selected for being sorted out. Stephenson's Q sorts method was utilized for studying preference. Both the hypotheses were confirmed.

Purnima Agarwal and S. C. Goel (1981) studied the risk taking behavior of U.P. legislators. Risk taking was investigated by means of a questionnaire containing seven items on general risk taking and 3 items on political risk taking. The questionnaire was administered to 24 MLAs of which 11 belonged to the ruling party and 13 to the opposition parties. Their age ranged from 30 to 65 and they possessed different amounts of legislative experience and loyalty to their party, and were drawn from urban and rural areas. The MLAs of the opposition parties were prepared to take more political risk than those of the ruling party; and urban MLAs were higher in political risk taking than rural MLAs.

Comments

Self-esteem is undoubtedly a variable of great theoretical significance in the study of political sectors, for it bears directly on the controversy of whether the political man is compensating for his inferiority by taking to politics or is actualizing himself. But the study needs to be extended to males and to echelons lower (local bodies) and higher (MPs) than MLAs. Cognitive complexity is an even more significant variable for decisionmakers; more and independent studies of this variable are indicated. The use of Q sorts, even for establishing an obvious truth, is refreshing. More important than the needs for dominance and aggression are the needs for affiliation, achievement, and power in the study of political actors. Typology is a crude but pragmatic step in the study of a field, and Barber (1965) has provided excellent typology of legislators. It can be used profitably to study Indian legislators.

LEADERS

Gandhi

Gandhi's leadership is of special psychological interest because it is based on a denial of two of the most fundamental human urges; sex and aggression. De Grazia (1948) attempted a psychoanalytical study of Gandhi's personality, and called him "son of his mother". Erikson (1969) produced a psycho-history of Gandhi in which he traced the origins of Gandhi's militant nonviolence to Gandhi's psychosocial development marked by eight stages and the resolution of "crisis" at each stage. Wolfenstein (1967) compared Gandhi's leadership with that of Lenin and Trotsky. A nonpsychoanalytical approach to Gandhi's leadership was taken by G. D. Rastogi (1969). In conformity with the interactionist theory of leadership, Rastogi accounted for Gandhi's leadership in terms of Gandhi as a person interacting with the situation in the form of the three Congress Movements of 1921, 1931, and 1942. Rastogi's conclusion that Gandhi was a democratic leader and not a charismatic one is based on a misunderstanding of the concept of charismatic leadership. Actually, Gandhi was a charismatic leader in all its three aspects — symbolic, authoritarian, and functional.

There are no psychobiographies or even social psychological studies of other Indian leaders excepting Gandhi (Mrs. Indira Gandhi may be an exception), there are studies of many Indian leaders using the techniques of semantic differential (SD) and activity vector analysis.

Other Leaders

Prabha Gupta (1968) undertook an SD study of four national leaders belonging to each of the four national parties (Congress, Communist, Jan Sangh, and SSP). The subjects consisted of 24 MLAs of each party (96 in all). A set of 7-point 20 SD scales was used, of which 10 were evaluative, 6 potency, and 4 activity scales. It was found that the members of each party rated their own party leaders most positively, and the leaders of other parties either negatively or neutrally. There were large variations in the traits assigned to any leader. Congressmen attributed mostly potency traits to Mrs. Gandhi; nonCongressmen also attributed potency

traits to her. However, Congressmen and nonCongressmen differed in attributing evaluative and activity traits to Mrs. Gandhi. Congressmen considered Morarji Desai to be strong, excited, active, quick, intelligent, and secure; nonCongressmen considered him to be social, good, tenacious, mature, optimistic, quick and strong, but also hostile, suspicious, insecure, irrational, and unstable. Jan Sanghis assigned mostly evaluative traits to Atal Behari Bajpai, followed by activity and least with potency traits. NonJan Sanghis considered him to be social, honest, rational, cooperative, and optimistic, but some Communist and SSP members called him insecure, obstructive, unsuccessful, irrational, and unstable. Neelima Misra (1981) repeated the study of Prabha Gupta and others, using 25 MLAs of UP (15 belonging to Congress I and 10 to BJP). The leaders rated were Indira Gandhi, Y. B. Chavan, Chandra Shekhar, Atal Behari Bajpai, Nanaji Deshmukh, Morarji Desai, and Charan Singh. It was found that on the whole Congress I MLAs positively rated the leaders in the order of Indira Gandhi, Chandra Shekhar, Atal Behari Bajpai, Morarji Desai, Nanaji Deshmukh, Y. B. Chavan, and Charan Singh; the BJP MLAs rated in the order of Atal Behari Bajpai, Chandra Shekhar, Nanaji Deshmukh, Morarji Desai, Indira Gandhi, Charan Singh, and Y. B. Chavan. On the question of potency, the most favorable rating went to Indira Gandhi both by Congress I and BJP legislators. Both Congress I and BJP legislators were either neutral or negative toward Charan Singh.

The activity vector analysis (AVA) is an adjective checklist of 81 nonderogatory words, and the subject is asked to check as many words as apply to the person named by the investigator. Merenda and Mohan (1967, 1968) and Merenda, Mohan, and Clarke (1971) investigated the students' perceptions of Gandhi, Nehru, Shastri, Indira Gandhi, and Dr. Radhakrishnan. Gandhi was seen as a socially outgoing and friendly person with a quiet, composed, and relaxed temperament. Nehru was also perceived as socially outgoing and confident who had a warm feeling for people, was well-liked and admired as a poised and unassuming gentleman who persuaded through enthusiasm and optimism. Shastri was seen by half of the subjects as essentially similar to Nehru, but by others as only superficially outgoing, not bound rigidly by the dictates of society in his thoughts and actions. Mrs. Gandhi was perceived as a person who was at her best in situations requiring smooth performance, who was attracted usually to a wide variety of people, was politically

astute and had ability, and through charm and enthusiasm persuaded others to go along with her. In a full-dress application of AVA to 200 subjects in 1976, 1978, and 1980 Srivastava (1982) noted the changes in the perceptions of leaders at different periods of time. The Activity Ratio Analysis showed that Jaya Prakash Narayan (1976, 1978), Morarji Desai (1976), Atal Behari Bajpai (1976, 1978), and Indira Gandhi (1978, 1980) were perceived as normally bright, active, and energetic. But a decrease in activity was perceived in Jaya Prakash Narayan (1980), Morarji Desai (1978, 1980), and Atal Behari Bajpai (1980). No change in activity was perceived in the cases of Charan Singh and Raj Narain. Vector analysis showed that when the leaders were in power their social adjustment and adaptability scores were high, but when they were out of power, their aggressiveness increased, and their behavior became unpredictable. All the leaders showed great emotional instability at all periods of study.

Comments

Psychobiographies of top ranking Indian leaders like Nehru, Desai, Indira Gandhi, Jaya Prakash Narayan, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Rajagopalachari, Ram Manohar Lohia are yet to be written. Perceptions of leaders by AVA or their ratings by SD technique are useful for impression management. But if these ratings are to serve the purpose of impression management they must be based on a wider and a more representative sample than heretofore attempted, and there should be institutional arrangement for such studies. The technique of content analysis employed by Donley and Winter to study the motives (needs for affiliation, achievement, and power) of public officials from their speeches can be readily applied to the study of Indian leaders. The study of political leaders is another area where collaboration between psychologists, political scientists, sociologists, and historians is indicated.

VOTING TURNOUT

Sense of Political Efficacy.

When psychologists turned to the study of voting behavior, they surmised that a voter was likely to exercise his franchise if he thought

his vote mattered. Hence they developed a short Sense of Political Efficacy (SPE) scale. The western studies of voting behavior have found evidence in support of this supposition. The SPE scale, sponsored by the RPC, was used in all the seven studies of the fourth General Elections, the Planning Commission, and in practically all other Indian election studies. But their bearing on the relationship is unclear. Raj Narain (1972) found that the nonvoter had a higher representation at the lower levels of SPE than the voter who had more representation at the higher levels of SPE. M. R. Rastogi (1975) found an insignificant difference in the SPE of voters and nonvoters, even when they were classified by age, sex, and socio-economic status (SES). Dhapola (1979) surprisingly found the nonvoter to possess a higher SPE score than the voter, and the difference between the two assumed significance when they were classified by age, sex and education. Kamlesh Mahajan (1985) made a special study of SPE in eight scheduled castes in Meerut. She classified her respondents into three levels of SPE and three levels of frequency of voting and found a significant relationship between the SPE and voting turnout. Khanna and Satya Deva (1972) found in their RPC study a low level of SPE in all the three constituencies studied by them, but this did not affect the turnout. R. Roy (1971) using the data of the 1969 elections found SPE to be highest in Punjab compared to that in West Bengal, Bihar, and U P.

The Sense of Personal Effectiveness is highly correlated with the Sense of Political Efficacy ($r = .803$). M. R. Rastogi (1975) found a significant difference between voters and nonvoters in their Sense of Personal Effectiveness. But she did not find a significant difference between voters and nonvoters in their Sense of Citizen Duty. The correlation between the SPE and Sense of Citizen Duty was found to be .28.

Information, Interest, and Involvement.

Raj Narain (1972) found that of the four levels in which political information had been stratified, the nonvoter had a higher representation at the lower levels, and the voter more representation at the higher. Dhapola (1979) found clear evidence of a positive relationship between political information and turnout. He also found a highly significant difference between voters and nonvoters in their political interest, as judged by a single question in the interview

schedule. Moreover, he also found a significant difference in the political involvement of the voters and nonvoters. Political involvement was determined on the basis of a number of questions.

Personality variables

Using a seven item measure of authoritarianism Raj Narain (1972) found the voter slightly more authoritarian than the nonvoter Dhapola (1979) using the same measure found the nonvoter to score higher on authoritarianism than the voter, although in Raj Narain's study the difference in authoritarian scores of voters and nonvoters was insignificant. Using a Hindi adaptation of Dean's alienation scale, M. R. Rastogi (1975) found no significant difference in the alienation scores of voters and nonvoters. Further, she obtained a correlation of .08 between alienation and SPE, as was expected. She also studied the differences between voters and nonvoters on the variable of Conservatism, using a Hindi adaptation of Newmeyer and Comrey's scale of Conservatism-Radicalism. No difference was found between the two, but M. R. Rastogi did obtain a significant difference in the conservatism of male and female respondents.

Comments

Many of the findings about voter turnout seem to be artifacts (creations of methodological limitations) of the tools and methods used for data collection. For example, in most of the studies, SPE was investigated by four items of Campbell et al., but there were variations in their vernacular renderings and sometimes additions to the items. The variables used possess only *nominal* unity; they differ in content, in wordings, and the extent to which they fulfil the conditions of measurement. Lane (1958) has listed the situations in which personality is likely to influence political behavior. According to him, conventional behaviors like voting and expressing patriotic attitudes are unlikely to offer any scope for the play of personality

VOTING PREFERENCE

Candidate Versus Party Orientation

In the RPC studies of the fourth General Elections, it is found that

in Bombay (Dastur, 1972), the candidate — his name and prestige — carried greater weight than the party; in Gujarat (Pathak, 1972) candidate orientation was low and even this was confined to rural constituencies; the voter accepted the party as the basis of his choice, in Rajasthan (Verma & Narain, 1972) the candidate was favored against the party both in the precampaign and postcampaign stages, and in UP (Rajnarain, 1972) both voters and nonvoters preferred the candidate against the party. Dhapola (1979) found that both voters and nonvoters were party rather than candidate oriented. Kamlesh Mahajan (1985) found voters at the medium level of the sense of political efficacy to significantly prefer the candidate to party. Prayag Mehta (1977) found that with regard to the motivation for voting, 38 per cent respondents were reported to have voted for party policy and programs, and only 8 per cent for the candidate's personal qualities.

Parties Never to be Voted for

A negative way of studying political preference is to find out those parties for which voters would never vote. The findings in this respect are summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Parties never to be voted for

<i>Rank order</i>	<i>BKD</i>	<i>Communists</i>	<i>Congress</i>	<i>J.S.</i>	<i>PSP</i>	<i>SSP</i>	<i>Swatantra</i>
Pathak (1972)	0	0	2	3	0	0	1
Purohit (1972)	0	3	2	4	0	0	1
Rajnarain (1972)	0	1	3	2	0	3	4
Rastogi (1975)	7	1	5	2	3	4	6
Dhapola (1979)	3	2	0	1	0	0	0

Personality Variables

L. I. Bhushan and U. P. Singh (1972) administered Eysenck's Social Attitudes Inventory (SAI), rendered into Hindi, to 1272 voters from nine districts of Bihar on the eve of the 1967 General Elections. Respondents were asked to state their preference and rate five political parties. The results obtained are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Parties preferred and rated

		<i>Congress</i>	<i>C.P.I.</i>	<i>Jan Sangh</i>	<i>S.S.P.</i>	<i>Swatantra</i>
	N	430	160	200	150	120
Radicalism	M	5.12	5.52	4.98	5.18	5.08
	SD	1.84	2.08	1.88	2.13	1.56
Tendermindedness	M	10.53	11.27	10.35	10.75	9.52
	SD	2.22	3.72	2.34	1.76	1.98

The figures statistically treated reveal that voters preferring the CPI are significantly more radical than those preferring the JS and Swatantra. Also, those who prefer the Congress are significantly less radical than those who prefer the CPI and are close to the JS and Swatantra in their radicalism. That is, Congress is a rightist party, and the radicalism of all the voters is below the median value (6.50), and therefore all of them are conservative despite their varied political preferences. Contrary to the general belief, the CPI is preferred by those who are the least tough-minded, for the tough-minded prefer the Swatantra or JS. The last finding is consistent with the conclusion reached by Brown (1965) that communists in democratic countries are not authoritarian and tough-minded.

Veereshwar (1974-75) studied voting preference in relation to political interest, political involvement, and the sense of political efficacy. She found all three variables significantly related to voting preference, the correlations being $-.102$, $.079$, and $-.110$ respectively, with a multiple correlation equal to $.29$ significant at $.05$ level.

M. R. Rastogi (1975) inquired into the relationship of conservatism, alienation, sense of personal effectiveness and sense of citizen duty to preference for Congress, BKD, and JS. She found the relationship to be insignificant for all the four personality variables. But relatively speaking, JS was backed by the least conservative and BKD by the most conservative voters; the most alienated voters preferred the JS and the least alienated the BKD; Congress was preferred by those whose sense of citizen duty was highest, and those whose sense of citizen duty and sense of personal effectiveness were least preferred the JS.

Comments

Eysenck's claim that the radicalism and tender-mindedness of the

voter determines his preference for political parties needs further exploration. The studies of Bhushan and Singh and of Rastogi confirm the need for further exploration.

Some influential political scientists in India hold that the voting behavior studies have reached a saturation point in the country, and political scientists would be well advised to turn their attention to other areas of their field. This perhaps explains the decline in voting behavior studies after the 1970s.

Some knowledgeable political scientists of India also question the model of voting behavior studies in the country, borrowed from the American Presidential elections. In these studies voting behavior was related to three orientations of the voter — candidate, party, and issue. But in a country where the electorate is largely illiterate and the ballot paper has to provide for election symbols to enable them to vote, an inquiry into candidate, party or issue orientation seems to be egregious. Moreover, a model of voting behavior presuming a rational voter to be voting freely is unrealistic in a country where money and muscle power decide the fate of elections and where dynastic succession is accepted both by the ruling and opposition parties.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Political psychology is yet a sapling on Indian soil. But a soil that produced the inimitable Kautilāya can be expected to promote a healthy growth of the sapling. Already there are indications of such a growth. A determined minority has banded itself into a professional organization (the Indian Society of Political Psychology, C-48 Niralanagar, Lucknow 226 020); an outline of the field has been published (Rajnarain, 1988), and a journal is in the offing.

There are currently five issues (Hermann, 1986) in political psychology. First, should we be searching for a single, unifying paradigm or reinforce the present pluralism? Second, what is the appropriate unit of analysis of political psychology — individual, group, or organization? Third, how important is the comparative approach to political psychology? Is it possible to develop indicators that are comparable across cultures and nations? Fourth, what are the boundaries between research and action? Fifth, if a course in political psychology were feasible, what would it be like? The bias of the reviewer on the issues can be inferred from his comments at the end of each section.

There are presently three psychological orientations contending for supremacy in political psychology. These are the psychopathological, the behavioral, and the cognitive. It is the considered opinion of the reviewer that the psychopathological approach has conducted an unhealthy development of political psychology; the other two approaches are to be preferred. Political scientists should defer to psychologists in the selection of psychological orientation.

This review gives a substantially true picture of the work done in political psychology in India. It cannot claim to be exhaustive, as it is the handiwork of a lone author, operating with his limited resources but blessed with the goodwill and cooperation of colleagues. The review supplements Prayag Mehta's article on political processes in the Second Survey of Research in Psychology sponsored by the ICSSR.

Lane (1963) has listed six political processes: electoral and public opinion, legislative, administrative, judicial and legal, international, and integrative. Most of the work done in India bears on the first two processes, the other four are virtually untouched. For quite sometime, political psychology was content to study stable political systems. But political instability has forced itself upon the attention of political psychologists. The study of political violence, specially political terrorism, deserves priority in India.

The survey method has been omnipresent (and even considered omnipotent) in political psychology. The case study method has followed suit. But it is the experimental method that yields the best kind of knowledge, and needs to be cultivated and encouraged. Political psychology is concerned with action as well as research. In this respect it can forge a fruitful alliance with peace research workers and organizations.

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The Experience and Consequences of Crowding

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&
GIRISHWAR MISRA

The transactional model of personality assumes that the interplay of individual dispositions and situational demands determines the pattern and direction of behavior. Life space as formulated by Kurt Lewin (1951) envisaged a reciprocal relationship between person and environment, employing beliefs, attitudes, personal goals and cognitive ability on the personal side, and characteristics of environment (particularly man-made environment) as factors jointly shaping the course of behavior. One of the most bothersome aspects of contemporary human environment is the alarming growth of human population. Most of the developing countries are now facing the problem of population management. Since population grows not only in size but also in density it creates a peculiar problem of adjustment in which people have to cope with the stresses created by the presence of other fellow beings. The psychological study of crowding tries to answer questions pertaining to the threats emerging from crowding and challenges involved in its moderation, reduction, and channelization.

This paper examines the experience and consequences of crowding, particularly in the Indian context, and explores its diverse implications for individual and social functioning. Studies in western countries have generally reported negative consequences of crowding. For example, Evans (1980) found that the initial reactions of individuals to crowding are characterized by changes in affective states. Supportive evidence to this effect comes from physiological measure showing increased heart rate, blood pressure, and some other physiological measures (Evans, 1979). Studies on prisoners

have shown that in crowded housing units complaints of illness were greater than in uncrowded housing units (Cox, Paulus, & McCain, 1984). Also, there is evidence of increased death rate in crowded psychiatric prisons (Paulus, McCain, & Cox, 1978). In other residential settings such as dormitories, negative effects on interpersonal attraction, aggression and altruism, and loss of privacy and control have been reported (e.g., Aiello, Baum, & Gormley, 1981; Aiello, Vautier, & Bernstein, 1983).

THEORETICAL MODELS OF CROWDING

In general, such studies (see Baum & Epstein, 1978; Stokols, 1978) demonstrate the negative consequences of crowding on affective and behavioral functioning, and several models have been proposed to account for these findings. These models conceptualize the various stages of crowding experience and postulate specific antecedents and mediating variables. For example, the *stimulus overload model* (Desor, 1972) posits that crowding conditions supply information at a higher rate simultaneously from many sources of stimuli, and overload the information processing capacity. This stress is supposed to have negative effects. The *behavioral constraints model* (Proshansky, Ittleson, & Rivlin, 1970) states that the feeling of reduced behavioral freedom is responsible for negative consequences. The *ecological model* (Wicker & Kirmeyer, 1977) presumes that perceived scarcity of resources and other structural features of environment lead to negative effects. Worchel (1978) has presented an *attributional model* of crowding which proposes that the experience of crowding in high density conditions occurs only if individuals attribute the cause of their stress to the presence of many people in a smaller space.

These models, thus, focus on different factors as mediators of the effects of crowding on human behavior. It has been contended that crowding is a stressful condition yielding cognitive and affective consequences. However, these contentions do not go beyond enumerating the adverse effects of crowding. There is some evidence to show that the effect of crowding depends on the coping strategy employed by the person, resources, and support available from the environment (e.g., Baum, Davis, Calensnick, & Gathel, 1982). The environmental characteristics like predictability and stability are also important in determining the effects of crowding.

The experience of crowding and its consequences seem to differ from one cultural setting to the other and across different socio-economic groups in the same socio-cultural group. Altman and Chemers (1980) have delineated the differences and similarities in the responses to crowding across cultures and, therefore, cross-cultural variations in coping strategies may also be noted. This needs extensive exploration and will help in deciding the strategies for managing the ill-effects of crowding. However, a recent review by Jain (1987d) suggests two constraints in the existing studies which limit the generalizability of the findings. First, the findings on crowding are inconsistent on various measures. Second, there is still a need for a broad theory to accommodate the differences noted in the high-low density conditions and to provide a more viable explanation for these differences. This difficulty has many reasons out of which two need special mention. First, there is a question of *pure density* and *optimal density*. Density of population has been and remains confounded with factors such as, individual characteristics, their complex network of relationships, and various physical features of the habitat. Second, the feeling of crowding seems to be a phenomenon which occurs at personal as well as group level. Because of this complexity, in spite of two decades of extensive research, the phenomenon of crowding could not be explored in a comprehensive manner.

An interesting observation on the studies on crowding is that density in itself has no effect on mood and behavior. It is the experience of crowding which is responsible for negative effects. The distinction between objective crowding (density) and the feeling of crowding (subjective experience) led researchers to identify the variables mediating the feeling of crowding. Thus, research on crowding has focused on identifying the conditions of density and characteristics of individuals which arouse the feeling of crowding. Furthermore, the behavioral responses to the feeling have been explored in some studies. In view of the research on life stresses, coping strategies, such as, cognitive, active-behavioral, and avoidance should be explored. This will also help in categorizing crowding as an environmental stress. To this effect a few attempts have been initiated (e.g., Baum, Davis, Calesnick, & Gathel, 1982). Also, Fisher and Baum (1980) have attempted to study the effects of various control relevant messages for reducing crowding stress. However, such attempts are still at a nebulous stage and more research is needed in this direction.

THE INDIAN SCENE

High population density living, although common to all the countries, is more frequent in Third World countries like India where population growth is unprecedented. The psychological consequences can also be considered as inevitable in such residential conditions. Moreover, with the paucity of resources making provisions for living millions is becoming a threatening problem. The scientific study of the psycho-social consequences, therefore, seems imperative for managing human resources and moving toward the goal of social development. Since the experience of crowding occurs in a particular situation, the socio-cultural context cannot be overlooked in any analysis of the effects of crowding. In this context a distinction between crowding in developed western countries and Third World countries is noted in terms of availability of resources, historical settings, and socio-cultural norms of social living. For example, unlike developed countries India has limited resources with a larger section of the population subsisting on it. This makes the Indian situation a competitive one. However, at the same time a large number of traditional families are still living as joint families involving high degree of residential crowding. Since the tradition for such living is several generations old, the extent of adaption in such conditions is very high and has the capacity to moderate the effects of crowding. Moreover, the collectivism of Indian society and frequent ceremonial functions do motivate people for interactions under the conditions of crowding. Another characteristic of the Indian situation is its abject poverty. A large proportion of economically poor people are living not only in high density conditions but also in slums where inhuman living conditions prevail. To assess the experience of crowding in such situations the problem of isolating the effects from several concomitants is quite difficult. These conditions ask the researchers to look into the differences between western and Indian studies. Even western studies have accepted that situational variables influence the judgements of crowding (Cohen, Laaden, & Bennett, 1975). As Salling and Harvey (1981) have argued "the reaction of the poor to certain environmental and residential stimuli is influenced by both their situational and personality attributes, albeit the former appear to be more influential" (p.158).

The first report on the psychological consequences of crowding in India was by Jain (1976). He used a culturally relevant variable

of competition tolerance and need hierarchy as correlates of population density. He contended that in the Indian socio-cultural context, where resources are limited and chances of procuring and mobilizing them uncertain, competition tolerance would influence adaptability to high density conditions. He found that competition tolerance was related to need intensity and pattern (Jain, 1978). In a subsequent study Jain (1983) found that high density was associated with the subjective experience of crowding and has negative affective consequences. It was also noted that effects of high density varied with economic status. It was observed that feeling of crowding was greater in low SES subjects but helping tendency was more than that in high SES individuals. Preet Kamal and Jain (1984), extending this series of studies found that the incidence of ill-health was greater in high crowding than in the low crowding setting.

Recently, Jain (1987, a, b) examined the effect of crowding on performance attribution. It was found that the feeling of crowding was associated with a violation of personal space, and the attribution of such violation to the presence of a large number of persons in a given space. It was found that high density leads to the feeling of crowding and increases the desire for maintaining greater interpersonal distance. Jain (1987c) also examined experimentally the effect of density and resources on crowding and personal space. He noted that population density, both social as well as spatial, is associated with the feeling of crowding. These experiments also suggested that even in noninteractive situations the feeling of crowding occurs in high density settings. These findings were explained in terms of competitive situations arising from scarcity of resources. Somewhat similar negative effects of crowding were reported by Nagar (1985).

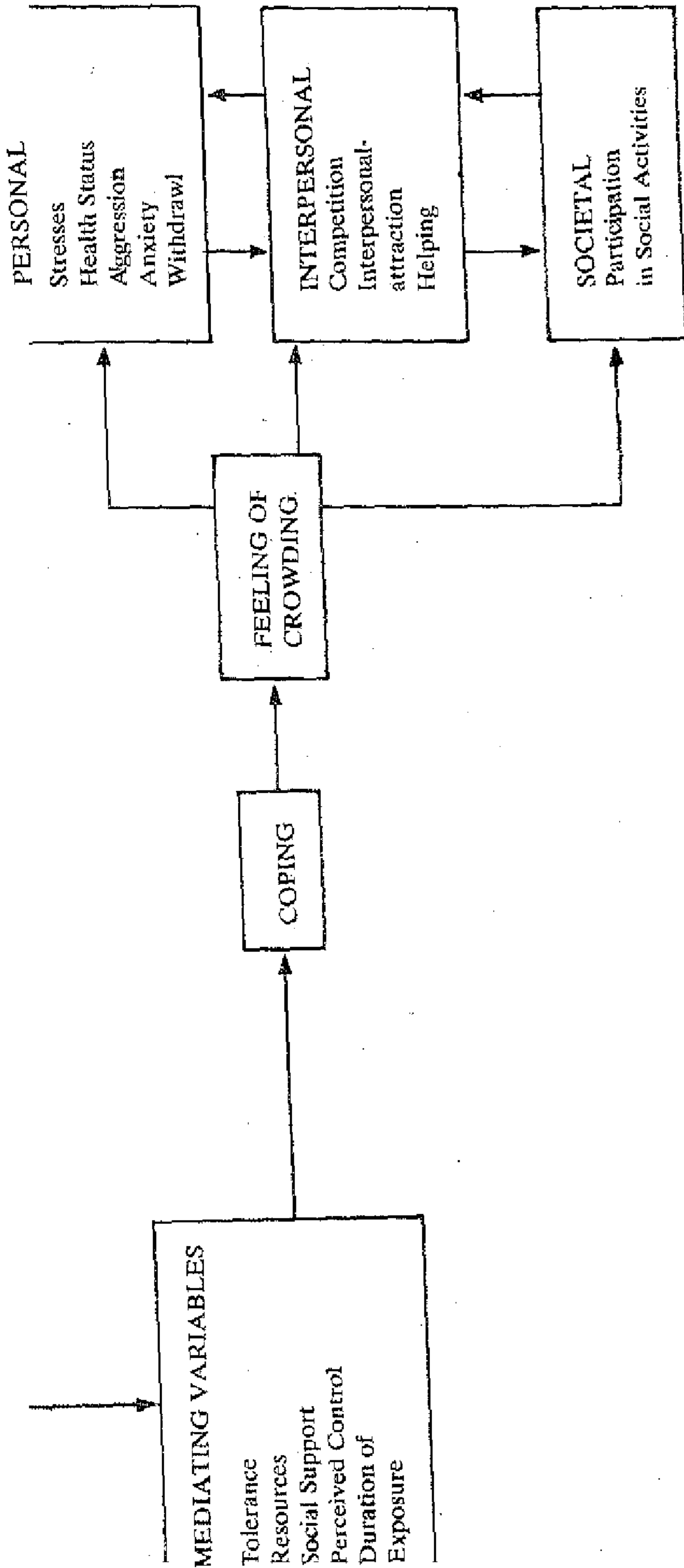
Recently Nagar and Pandey (1987) reported an interesting experiment on the effects of noise and density on affective experiences and cognitive task performance. Using undergraduate students of 17 to 19 years of age, enrolled in English medium courses they examined performance on two complex tasks, i.e., story comprehension and five letter anagrams and on a simple task consisting of four letter anagrams. It was found that crowding and noise led to negative effects and deterioration of performance on complex but not on simple task. Nagar and Pandey noted that "their study somewhat replicates the findings of Finkelman and Glass (1972) and to a large extent the findings of Glass and Singer (1972)

It seemed that crowding and noise as stressors in the experimental setting created high levels of arousal amongst the subjects'' (Nagar & Pandey, 1987, p. 156). The authors attributed these findings to attentional inability resulting from heightened arousal. Anand (1983) has reported negative effects of high density on the quality of life, perceived control, health and personal space. Tripathi (1986) has reported a field survey of one of the most crowded cities, Varanasi, in north India. He noted that the experience of crowding was greater under high density conditions and its magnitude was greater among older people. However, younger males felt greater stress than their female counterparts from high density areas. High density yielded greater negative behavioral effects, poor adjustment, and neuroticism than low density conditions. The results indicated that the experience of crowding has multiple effects in the diverse areas of individual functioning. In a field study Evans, Palsane, Lepore, and Martin (1988) have reported that high density living weakens the social support bonds and leads to adverse effects on psychological health.

These studies generally indicate adverse effects of crowding on social interaction, feeling, performance, and mental health in the predicted direction. However, there has been little effort at theoretical integration of studies. There is lack of concern for moderators of the effects of crowding and these studies have confined themselves to demonstrate its consequences primarily at the individual level. Realizing the need to have a theoretical framework Jain and Misra (1986) proposed a model which is being pursued empirically by Jain (1988).

BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES OF CROWDING: TOWARD A THEORETICAL MODEL

The model given in Figure 1 posits that crowding is a psychological state experienced on the basis of high population density as mediated by physical resources and coping mechanisms. Depending upon the moderating effects of these variables people may experience different degrees of crowding in similar or identical environments having the same degree of density. The consequences are manifested at individual, interpersonal, and societal levels. At the individual level the manifestations comprise stress, anxiety, withdrawal, health/illness, and experience of control. These



consequences determine the overall functioning of individuals. The consequences at the interpersonal level influence the quality of social relationship. Here three relevant aspects of relationship are identified, i.e., support, competition, and affiliation. Some of the salient effects of crowding at the individual level include the following.

Poor Task Performance

There is a growing evidence for crowding deteriorating the level and quality of performance and inhibiting the realization of individual potential, and providing a context which does not facilitate the enactment of required skills. Effects of crowding are reported to be greater on complex task performance. Thus higher mental processes seem to be more affected than lower level ones. This view is largely in line with the confluence model (Zazonc, 1976), which indicates that family size determines the intellectual environment which, in turn, determines cognitive development. In a recent study Misra and Tiwari (1987) found that the number of siblings was negatively related to performance on cognitive measures and this relationship was stronger in urban rather than rural settings. Crowding in the classroom has been documented to have negative effects on scholastic attainment (Loo, 1972). Crowding, by increasing the arousal level and distraction and by decreasing concentration and persistence, inhibits performance.

Goal Blocking

The situation of crowding introduces certain elements which operate as barriers in the pursuit of goal directed activity. This results in frustration, goal shifting, and threats to well-being. Delays and postponements of goal activity are some of the consequences of high population density.

Competition

One of the inevitable concomitants of high density is sharing of available resources by a large number of people. The limits on resources imposed by high density results in competition for capturing and hoarding available resources. Competition has many

undesirable consequences and, as Jain (1984) has shown, competition tolerance moderates the ill-effects of crowding. Failure in managing competition may lead to frustration, anxiety, and misdirected activities.

Negative Effect and Ill-being

Crowding induces negative feelings in the individual which pose threats for his or her well-being. This does not remain confined to the individual but spreads to other people and settings. People become more and more susceptible to repulsion rather than attraction, social tension than harmony, aggression than prosocial behavior

Ambiguity and Meaninglessness

High density situations lack structure, stability, and meaning. They deindividualize individuals. This is reflected in the modern residential colonies of big towns and cities in which neighbors have only impersonal or formal relationships and do not have the feeling of belonging. In general, cohesiveness decreases.

ISSUES IN CROWDING RESEARCH

The analysis of crowding at the individual level will remain incomplete unless one recognizes the embeddedness of the individual in the larger social system of which he constitutes a part. There is no escape from the ecology and environment in which individuals operate. As part of the system one has to suffer and/or enjoy whatever happens to the system. This may be difficult to accept for those subscribing to the cognitive view (Cohen, 1980), but the magnitude and significance of objective reality cannot be underestimated. Objective reality sets the limits on behavioral possibilities and its denial is impossible. To reiterate the point it may be stated that whatever happens at the systemic level will also have an impact at the individual level, but the reverse is not necessarily true. Of course, individual variations in the experience and consequences of those events are possible. The consequences at the societal level involve participation in community activities of different types. In addition, there are several phenomena which are linked with crowding: development of slums, increment in the rate of crime, increase in

the environmental pollution, social pathology and stability, and change in the socio-cultural and political spheres. Broadly speaking these consequences are the ingredients of social change. While none of them can be attributed only to crowding, they are certainly related to crowding, and crowding has a definite and significant role in determining their course. Social history provides many instances where the associations of crowding (population density) with these factors is supported. The diverse effects of crowding are not mutually exclusive. In fact, the likelihood and magnitude of effect(s) at any one level would also depend upon the effect(s) at the other level(s).

Since individuals function in an environment where the effects are reciprocal, the model has a provision for a feedback loop. This implies probability of change in the effects for the same individual depending upon the quality of interaction and its effects in continuing individual environment transactions. Finally, the model does not eliminate the possible direct effects of high density. This is expected in extreme conditions in which individuals do not have a choice or cannot escape but have to suffer. Such extreme conditions are rare but not impossible. People undergo such traumatic conditions in war, flood, and disasters. Approximations of such conditions are prevalent in scarce resource situations prevailing in developing and underdeveloped countries of the world.

In a recent review on crowding research Baum and Paulus (1987) raised two major issues. The first issue is related to the identification of mediating variables, such as, social structure, architectural properties of the setting, group composition, privacy, etc. Since pure density is impossible to manipulate or locate in actual settings, the effects of mediating variables have to be explored. Second, it has been frequently observed that density may not always lead to the feeling of crowding and therefore demands research in exploring the sufficient conditions for the occurrence of the feeling of crowding.

Related to the aforesaid basic issues the question of cross-cultural variations in the response(s) to crowding is also pertinent. Particularly in a country like India the situation seems to be paradoxical. The paradox is related to its long tradition of joint families and its cultural-social rituals and activities which are celebrated as a group. Thus the study is needed to determine the effects of crowding in such situations and to find the differences and similarities in various

types of crowding. The question of scarce resources and the inevitability of crowded living are also pertinent in the Indian context.

It is ironical that human beings are social animals but dislike the presence of fellow beings if they create crowding. The concept of the crowd and that of the group mind have been with us since the very inception of social psychology. These concepts, however, did not refer to the experience of crowding and its consequences. The scientific study of social psychology of crowding is a relatively new venture. The contemporary interest in crowding research owes largely to at least two aspects of modern life, namely, population explosion and revival of individualism. The social institutions of family and neighborhood are changing and are being redefined. These changes are of greater magnitude in the traditional societies which are being transformed by the modern forces like technology, industrialization, urbanization and western education. Thus the individual is redefining his or her boundaries in a new social ecological climate. Crowding in the external environment is increasing while the personal threshold for crowding is decreasing. This incompatible relationship is a source of many problems at the individual and societal levels.

While crowding research in social psychology originated in less crowded developed countries of the world, it is more relevant to the conditions of developing countries. In order to meet the challenges of social welfare, development, and equality of opportunity, planning efforts have to be synchronized with population growth and consequent crowding. The issues involved in this difficult job as well as areas of concern are diverse and complex. They deal with designing of houses and work places, organizational structure and its size, use of technology, and the socio-political system. This necessitates a multipronged strategy of research and action. So far, these different areas, being treated as specializations, have remained unrelated with very little communication and interaction. The separate analyses from these angles, therefore have remained uncoordinated. As a result we do not have a total picture or a comprehensive appraisal of the situation. This state-of-affairs warrants immediate attention of the students of related disciplines, particularly psychologists and social scientists to communicate with planners, architects, and economists for evolving an effective plan of action to deal with the undesirable effects of crowding.

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Population Research

RAVI KUMAR VERMA

India's population, which had already reached the mark of 800 million by mid-1988, is estimated to cross well beyond one billion by the year 2000 if it continues to grow at the current rate of slightly more than 2 per cent per annum. The population policy of reaching a Net Reproduction Rate (NRR) of unity by the end of the century envisages to bring down the birth rate from the current 33 per thousand to 21 and the death rate from the current 14 per thousand live births to nine. The policy also aims to "protect" 60 per cent of the total eligible couples — estimated to be 130 million — by one or the other family planning methods (Planning Commission, 1980). Although the assumptions involved in setting the targets and the time-frame for reaching the "population goals" have been questioned (Chaudhary, 1986), there is no denying the fact that any perceptible change in the population size in the future would be possible only if there is a drastic reduction in the birth rate.

Given the importance of understanding reproductive behavior and in view of the number of studies conducted in the past the present paper tries to:

1. Raise some of the basic issues inherent in the social psychological researches on fertility and family planning acceptance; and
2. Suggest a conceptual scheme indicating the interrelationship between background variables operating at individual levels affecting the decision to accept family planning.

In order to achieve these objectives a heavy reliance has been placed on the review of relevant social, psychological literature on fertility and family planning which has appeared after 1976. Studies conducted prior to 1976 have been excluded, as they have already been covered in earlier reviews (Bhargava & Kapoor, 1986; Fawcett, 1970

Glick, 1967; Pareek & Rao, 1974; Pohlman, 1969; Rao, 1981, Tietze, 1965). However, conclusions drawn in earlier reviews would be referred to as and when deemed necessary.

BASIC ISSUES

Fertility behavior is complex and is determined by a host of biological, sociological, psychological, and economic factors. These factors not only affect fertility behavior directly but also in a variety of combinations. In such a complex situation no one discipline/approach is sufficient to provide a satisfactory explanation. Admittedly, the dilemma for social psychologists as compared to others has been rather large. This dilemma has existed mainly because social psychological researches so far have not been able to point at those individual dimensions through which the background variables, viz., socio-demographic and economic, become operative and are expressed in the behavior of the individual.

While there have been a few attempts to utilize a general body of psychological theory and research on the nature of motivation, needs, and values at the individual level, the application of various social psychological theories to understand reproductive behavior, the acceptance of family planning, and the small family size norm has been lacking. In fact, other central topics of social psychology, such as, communication and persuasion, attitude change, leadership, and group dynamics which are relevant to both population research as well as action programs have not found adequate attention of the social psychologists working in the field of population. Some of the most widely utilized social psychological theories in this field include Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954); Rosenberg's formulation of the nature of attitudinal preference (1956); Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's classification of value orientations (1961); and recently Inkeles and Smith's definition of modern man (1974). The attitude-behavior paradigm on the other hand has formed the basis of all *KAP* studies.

With regard to fertility and family planning, the two following questions have remained pertinent from the social psychological point of view:

1. Why people accept family planning? and
2. Why people desiring no more children do not use contraception?

A thorough understanding of these two questions in various socio-economic contexts is a prerequisite for bringing about a successful change from a large to a small family norm through policies and intervention programs. While the first situation points to the need for understanding social psychological correlates of acceptance phenomena, the second situation is related to the problem of "unwanted births" and the well known phenomena of "KAP GAP"

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF BIRTH CONTROL AND FERTILITY BEHAVIOR

The issue relating to the selection of social psychological variables which are relevant from the point of view of predicting fertility behavior and family planning acceptance has remained unresolved since the days of the Indianapolis (1946-1958) and the Princeton (1963) studies. The findings of these two major studies undertaken in the initial stages of social psychological researches in the field of fertility were not very encouraging. Nevertheless, a brief description of these two studies in terms of the psychological variables included in them would be relevant here.

The Indianapolis study (Whelpton & Kiser, 1946 to 1958) tested 23 hypotheses, relating to social and psychological variables, 2 to dependent variables, namely, practice of contraception and planned family size. The personality variables included in the study were feeling of personal inadequacy, feeling that children interfere with personal freedom, ego-centered interest in children, fear of pregnancy, tendency to plan, interest in religion, adherence to traditions, and conformity to group patterns. Other social and psychological variables were grouped under status and security, interest in home and children, marital adjustments, and husband-wife communication.

The Indianapolis study was followed by the Princeton one (Westoff, Potter, Sagi, & Mishler, 1963) — a longitudinal study spreading over a period of ten years — which included the following personality variables: generalized manifest anxiety, need for nurturance, compulsiveness, tolerance of ambiguity, cooperativeness, and nAch. The two dependent variables were the number of children desired and family planning success. The failure to yield such associations between psychological factors and fertility behavior in both the studies was attributed to the selection of irrelevant psychological variables and to an inadequate measurement of these variables.

It has also been pointed out that a limited sample in terms of social class, religion, residential area, and parity greatly reduced the range of variance of fertility behavior and psychological traits of the sample, and thus diminished the correlations among the variables (Kiser, 1962).

Taking the cue from the above criticisms, the famous Korean study drew subjects from a population of different backgrounds (Chung, Palmore, Lee, & Lee, 1972). On the basis of extensive analysis of value orientations, modernity attitudes, and environmental perception of currently married women ($N = 1883$), the study concluded that "(a) the psychological factors are one of the mechanisms through which the social background factors operate to affect fertility behavior; (b) the psychological factors are independently important beyond being operational mechanisms of social background factors; and (c) in some socio-demographic conditions the psychological factors are more important determinants of fertility behavior than in other conditions" (p. 64).

Confirming the above conclusions, a recently conducted study in India has shown that psychological characteristics, such as, the satisfaction of basic needs, developmental value orientation, and open attitude system operate as mechanisms through which characteristics like place of residence, education, income, and socio-economic status have their effect on fertility and family planning practice (Ramesh, 1988).

In India the social psychological researches, mostly using ex post facto design, have compared the personality dimensions of acceptors and nonacceptors and have tried to establish that acceptors are more prone to change, possess rational thinking and their subjective efficacy is high (Khan & Prasad, 1980; Khan & Praveen, 1977), and display tender-minded emotionality and naturalness (Bhargava & Kapoor, 1986). Also, the educated male respondents exhibit a high degree of independence (Singh & Bhargava, 1977). On the other hand, it has been shown that the sterilized persons as compared to the nonadopters are more anxious, introvert, and group dependent (Tewari, 1976). Another study comparing the personality traits of adopters and nonadopters showed that adopter women tended to be less anxious, more intelligent, and had a stronger need for dominance than the nonadopters (Kumar & Gairola, 1981).

With regard to the value orientation of acceptors and non-acceptors too, the studies have been inconclusive. Using data from

interviews with married women ($N = 1865$) in rural and urban societies of three Indian states — Tamil Nadu, Haryana, and Meghalaya — a study failed to demonstrate the direct effect of modernity value orientation on the individual level of fertility (Mukerji, 1979). The study also showed that modernity values are not necessary conditions for either the acquisition or the use of contraceptive knowledge for family limitation. Similarly, it was revealed in another study that the value orientation of acceptors does not exert sufficient influence for creating value changes in favor of the small family sizes (Katiyar, 1976). However, another set of studies found that not only modernity values are positively associated with the acceptance of family planning (Khan & Prasad, 1980), the acceptors of the program belonged to social, theoretical, religious, and aesthetic combinations of values, and rejectors to political and economic combination of values (Singh, 1976). The value orientation studied in these researches consisted of activism, aspiration, adventure, individualism, and modernism. An exhaustive review of a theoretical framework on modernization and fertility change relevant to the Indian context is presented elsewhere (Srinivasan, 1983).

Studies on the decisionmaking process at the individual level to accept or reject family planning are nonexistent in India. A few studies on decisionmaking have concentrated on the factors leading to a decision rather than on the process itself (Anand, 1984, Chaurasia & Patankar, 1980; Grover, 1983). In this connection the reference to the behavioral model of sequential adoption may be made (Pareek & Singh, 1968). According to this model there are several stages of the adoption process, such as, need, awareness, interest, deliberation, trial, evaluation, adoption, and integration. There are distinct underlying psychological processes at each stage and each stage need not occur in the same order (Pareek & Rao 1974). There are several behavioral models available but not yet tested in the field of family planning behavior.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF NONACCEPTANCE

The question raised earlier that why people desiring no more children still do not use contraception has been answered in a number of ways. From the data collected for the second All India Family

Planning Study conducted in 1980 by the Operations Research Group, it was estimated that of the 117 million eligible couples, there were as many as 21 million couples who were not practising any method of family planning despite not desiring any more children (Khan & Prasad, 1983b). About 15 per cent reported that they did not like the existing methods and about 11 per cent that it was against their religion. In another study the husband-wife differences on fertility desires and on contraception, the conflicting influences from the in-laws, and conflict between personal norms and social norms were identified as additional factors for nonacceptance (Shastri, 1983).

The phenomenon of nonacceptance has also been explained in terms of the costs or constraints grouped under four broad categories physical/health, psychic, social option, and economics (Nag, 1983). Nag (1986) has further added the constraints related to menstruation, perception and beliefs about health hazards, attitude towards sex, cultural variation in sex modesty, conflict with personal religious belief, challenging spouse and sex role expectations, and challenging social influence groups to the costs grouped earlier. Lack of proper motivation and contraceptive costs have been reported as additional factors (World Bank Report, 1984).

A major policy relevant question is the extent to which non-acceptance is the result of child bearing motivation or the result of other factors as described above. Value of children (VOC) studies undertaken by the East-West Population Institute, Hawaii, perhaps provide the most comprehensive conceptual framework in this regard (Arnold, Bulatao, Buripadki, Chug, Fawcett, Iriten Lee, & Tsong-Shien 1975). However, it has been suggested that caution is required prior to investing in major national programs to influence child bearing motivation on the basis of policy suggestions emerging from the VOC model (Simmons, 1977).

Demographic changes have been related to changes in the inter-generational flow of wealth from parents to children (Caldwell, 1982). Complementing the analysis of the reversal of the wealth flow, a reversal of veneration flow from parents to children has also been claimed to be related to the demographic changes (Caldwell, 1988). The theory, however, needs an empirical validation in the Indian setup. A few Indian studies on the motivation for desiring children present an interesting variation in terms of their findings. An exploratory study has indicated that the hierarchical order of

child bearing motives differ for the husbands and their wives (Dixit & Mathur, 1976). In another study the early and late adopters were not found to differ in their motivational structures (Kumar & Gairola, 1978). The value of children studies conducted in India are discussed later. A close perusal of Indian studies clearly indicates that a very large number of fertility and family planning studies are not designed with the aim to explore the role of social psychological variables in the broader context of social and economic changes, and thus do not have any provisions for investigating these variables in a systematic manner.

THE KAP GAP

A highly favorable attitude toward family planning followed by a very low practice has posed serious problems to both researchers and planners alike. The Government of India appointed a high level expert committee from time to time to explain this gap and evolve suitable communication strategies (Government of India, 1969, 1974, 1975).¹ Conceptually, the variable "attitude" as it is measured and defined in the context of population research has been questioned (Laing, 1970). Usual fertility surveys and KAP studies have often measured only the direction of the concept without going into the details of its cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. The concept of attitude more often employed in terms of the affective component alone is not only inadequate but also faulty as it may not be a good predictor of behavior. An exhaustive critical review of KAP studies conducted in India, with emphasis on the national ORG surveys, is presented elsewhere (Vishalini, 1988).

Some researchers have employed a tridimensional approach to understand the attitude-behavior paradigm (Kothandapani, 1971,

¹. During 1966-69 the "National Mass Education Advisory Committee" and the "Central Media Coordination Committee" were setup by the ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India to provide the overall communication strategy. The studies conducted during this period indicated an increase in awareness but acceptance was still much below the expectation. Similarly, during 1975-85 — the World Population Year — a high powered "Family Planning Communication Board" was appointed to pinpoint the factors responsible for the highly favorable attitudes and low actual adoption.

Bhargava & Kapoor, 1986). The tridimensional approach considers attitude as a "dynamic" system consisting of affects, cognitions, and action tendencies, each one of which having different antecedent conditions and conceptually separate from each other. Using a multitrait-multimethod matrix procedure, it was shown that the measure of verbal intentions to act, irrespective of the measuring method, i.e., Thurstone, Likert, or Guttman, is a better predictor of contraceptive behavior than verbal feeling or verbal belief measure (Kothandapani, 1971). Another study pointed out that while there is no significant difference between mean attitude scores of adopters and nonadopters, a breakdown of attitude into its components brings out a clear cut difference between the groups in terms of "affective-positive" "attitude" and "negative attitude" (Bhargava & Kapoor, 1986).

TOWARD A CONCEPTUAL SCHEME

Presented in Figure 1 is a conceptual scheme indicating the interaction between background and psychological variables to effect family planning acceptance and fertility behavior. This scheme is based on the following well-known behavioral model.

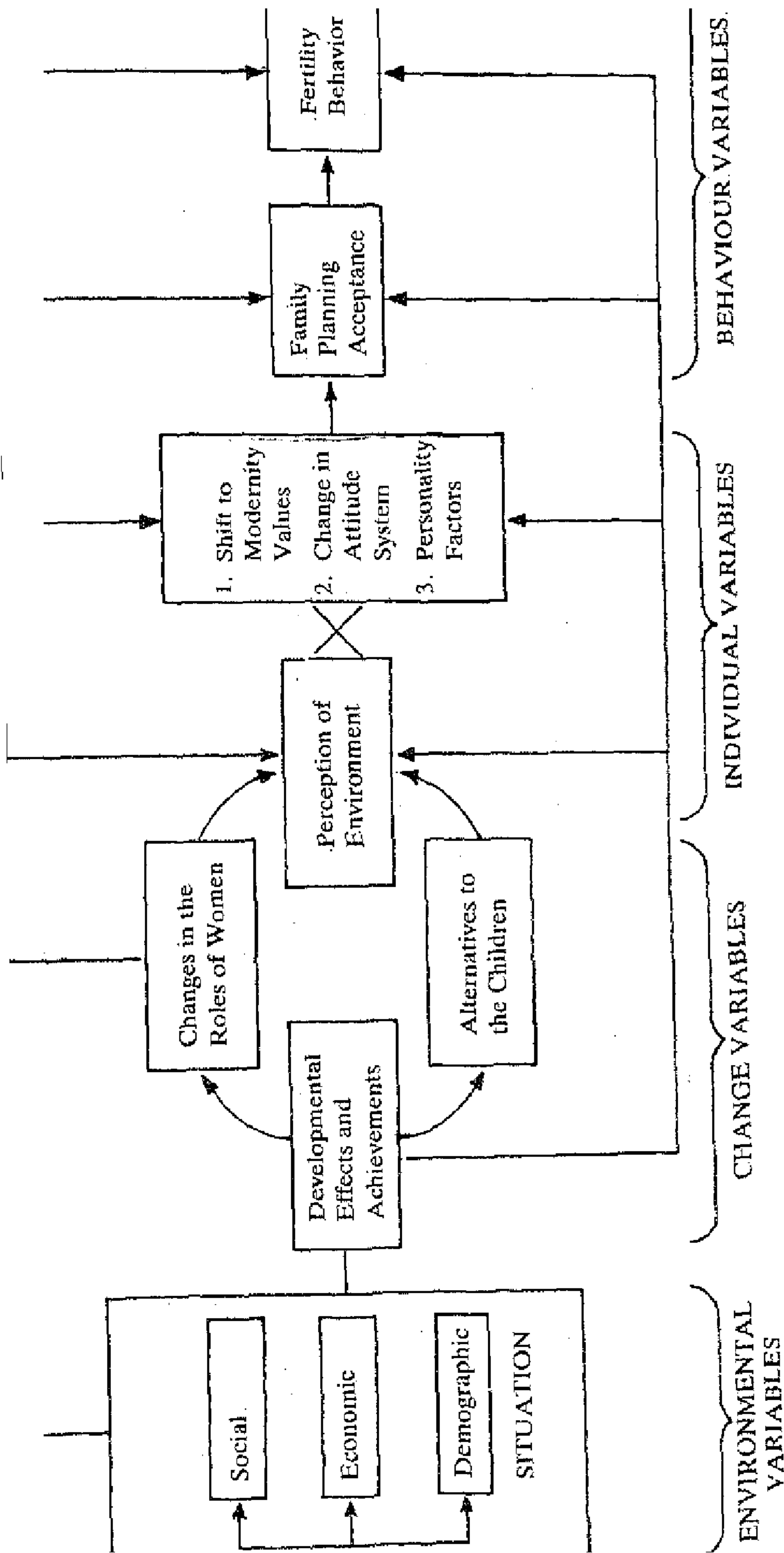
$$B = f(PE)$$

Where P = Personality of the individual and

E = Environment as perceived by the individual.

DEVELOPMENTAL EFFORTS

The developmental efforts and the process of modernization that have already been ushered in the country have begun eroding many of the social and cultural values that placed emphasis on the large family size. Programs directed at providing education to children and women, reduction in infant mortality rates, providing employment opportunities to women outside the household sector expanding mass media and motivational facilities, and improving the economic conditions of the poorest section of the society can be expected to raise the status of women and reduce the demand for children. Consequently, at the individual level the perceptions of the "changing role of woman" and "alternative values of children" tend to become the most important components of total psychological makeup from the viewpoint of fertility decisions.



CHANGING ROLES OF WOMEN

Demographic literature is full of evidence that the rising status of women is negatively related to her fertility behavior and family size preference. The usual indicators to assess the status of women are the sex-ratio, life expectancy at birth, the death rate, including child and infant mortality, labor force participation, educational level, and earning status. The concept of "status", however, is not justifiably reflected in the statistical indicators. The status of women has two possible dimensions—status vis-à-vis man and status vis-à-vis other women in the society. This differentiation has not always been maintained in the demographic researches.

Sociological literature shows that the status of women in a family setup is not always secondary or subordinate to men as it is commonly believed. This is shown to be true in both urban (Ross, 1961) as well as rural areas (Dube, 1955). A woman exercises considerable power in family matters and most of the important decisions in the family are made in consultation with her. The popular belief that in an Indian family the husband is an authoritarian figure on whom rests the most crucial decisions and who has the final say in family matters are "social fictions" according to Dube (1955, p. 142). The relation between husband and wife in fact undergoes a rapid metamorphosis as they leave one stage of life and enter into another. On the other hand, the higher incidence of girls dropping out of school, particularly in the rural areas and an astronomical rise in the incidence of tubectomy acceptance as compared to vasectomy—the percentage of tubectomy to the total sterilization has increased from 11 per cent in 1966-67 to 86 per cent in 1985-86 (Year Book, 1985-86) — have raised fresh questions relating to the issue of the status of women. The age specific death rates have been shown to be higher for women as compared to men at all ages upto 45 years.

Social psychological research at this stage assumes greater importance. The perception of one's own status in the society in general and in the family in particular and its relationship with that of fertility decisions are likely to throw light on fertility behavior.

ALTERNATIVES TO CHILDREN

As indicated earlier, the developmental efforts are likely to affect the values attached to children and reduce their demands by (a)

creating awareness among the parents about the opportunity costs of children and (b) creating quality and growth consciousness among parents. A number of studies on "unmet needs" have already shown that a large percentage of children currently being born are considered as unwanted births, unwanted by the parents themselves and in comparison, to their desired family size.

On the other hand, studies have shown that large families are the only insurance to people who have nothing else to fall back upon (Cain, 1981), and Indian parents are most concerned about economic benefits and old age security from children (Jejeeboy & Kulkarni, 1986). On the basis of case studies in two south Indian villages, it has been found that people in villages have begun to redefine the concept of old age security. To many young parents, old age security means having to provide for themselves and not just depending on their children (Guruswamy, 1988). At the same time, the felt economic burden has also been shown to be instrumental in motivating people to adopt contraceptives (Khan & Prasad, 1980). While the economic argument for the value of children has dominated the subject for very long, it is now essential for an in-depth study to be undertaken to explore the psychological reasons.

A closely related issue is that of a prevailing strong preference for sons. The number of living sons is very closely associated with the adoption behavior. There is unanimity among demographers and social scientists over the issue of prevailing sex-preference in the country. It has been shown that the most preferred sex composition is two sons and one daughter, followed by one son and one daughter (Khan & Prasad, 1980). A strong preference for sons among Indian couples has been found in other studies too. However, the preference for a son is not at the exclusion of a daughter. At higher family size levels, particularly when all living children are sons, a slight increase in the desire for additional children has been observed indicating the desire for a daughter (Das, 1983).

While demographers agree that there is a strong sex-preference in our country, there appears to be little consensus with regard to its impact on intended or actual fertility. No meaningful relationship between sex-composition of children, after a certain parity and the proportion going for the next birth, has been reported (Mukerji, 1977). This has been pointed out to be due to lack of contraception practice and/or an imprecise measurement of sex-preference. Using two additional measures, Das (1983) showed

that the desire for additional children is consistently related to the use of contraception. Precise measurement of sex preference and its impact on fertility related decisions through intervening psychological variables is an important challenge to social psychologists.

INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES

The process of modernization and changing roles of women and children can influence individuals in three ways: (a) a shift through modernity may occur; (b) a change in attitude, especially toward woman's role in society, may take place; and (c) personality including sex-role identity may be affected.

It is recognized that the process of social change is likely to bring about changes in various aspects of individual personality, and hence any of these changes may prove crucial from the viewpoint of fertility decisions. However, the three dimensions suggested above are thought to directly affect the outcome variables.

CONCLUSION

Inadequate social psychological research base in the field of population is a serious limiting factor to fully exploit its applied significance. Wide ranging issues related to various aspects of the population are yet to be examined. The conclusion of various researches that psychological measures play different roles in different population subgroups is important particularly from the viewpoint of developing countries like India, where multipronged developmental efforts have brought about changes which are neither uniformly spread nor uniformly perceived. Another conclusion that emerges from the findings of social psychological researches including KAP studies relate to the extent to which psychological changes at the individual level are keeping pace with the changes at the structural and institutional levels, and the possibility of bringing about psychological changes at the individual level without a corresponding change at the social institutional level.

The available research findings can perhaps be meaningfully incorporated in at least two significant aspects of the family planning program. (a) The important social psychological dimensions can be fed into the training of family planning field workers and in their day-to-day routine schedule; and (b) the findings can help in

developing appropriate communication materials and other social programs.

Those psychological factors — modernity value orientations, and supportive environmental perceptions — which encourage the acceptance of the small family size norm and help in changing attitudes toward family planning methods should be sustained through an intensive social-action program. The psychology of sex-preference and exclusive values attached to sons should be made the special target of emphasis both in policies and programs. Though old age security is one important reason for sex-preference, husbands, leaders, and elders in the family and community can be told that a well brought up daughter can also provide old age support in a society where the status of women is high. Cost consciousness is an important factor in the shift to contraception. The message that the bringing up of many children may not be adequately compensated by the earnings of children in the future should be conveyed to parents. In fact, studies have shown that the actual labor contribution in terms of time inputs are not substantial as is commonly believed. Employment opportunity would also reduce if they are too many.

In mobilizing school education as a measure for fostering the necessary psychological factors, young boys and girls should be told that in a rapidly changing and developing society like India they should concentrate on the maximum utility of their formative years before settling down to marital life. They should be made to perceive the changing roles of women and the changing values of children, especially sons. Modernity value orientations, such as, entrepreneurship, openness to change, and subjective efficacy may be inculcated at the stage when young boys and girls are fantasizing about their future. The advantages of delaying marriages should be conveyed to young boys and girls which would enable them to move around and try for various career alternatives, enable them to save more, and help them fulfil social responsibilities.

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Applied Social Psychology in India: Challenges and Possibilities

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The purpose of this chapter is to examine the status of applied social psychology in India, and to identify the emerging trends and important problems involved in the growth of this field. The preceding papers are contributed by major researchers who have extensively researched the themes on which they have written. They collectively provide an opportunity for an appraisal of the results and observations of their research in the growing field of applied social psychology. These papers do not lead to any direct statements on the solutions of social problems, but they do highlight important issues, problems, and gaps in our understanding, and provide observations and analyses related to many problem areas that are significant for India and other developing countries. Moreover, the preceding chapters provide potentially valuable information, stimulate our thinking, and encourage the planning of relevant and policy oriented research in more effective ways.

APPLIED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The role of applied social psychology in the process of social development in the context of developing countries becomes different from the one established in developed western countries. This situation is largely due to the differences in the achieved state of

socio-economic development, political structure, growth of the discipline, and availability of resources. Most of the Third World countries are characterized by low income, high rate of illiteracy, over population, and traditional values (Blackler, 1983). Most of the countries gained independence from colonial rule in the last four decades. Now they wish to achieve the stage of the more developed countries in a very short span of time. This creates various kinds of pressures and generates conflicts (D. Sinha, 1983). The socio-political and economic conditions in these countries lack stability, harmony, and predictability. The social psychological knowledge developed in the advanced industrial societies is more applicable and relevant to societies having literacy, impersonality, free social space, and a different set of belief systems (Cherns, 1983). Since knowledge is socially conditioned and mediated by the social forces like culture and tradition, the adoption of western social science would be dangerous and inappropriate. The problems from the social domain are time, place, and context bound (Seidman & Rappaport, 1986), and, therefore, cannot be understood or analyzed from any universal perspective.

The experience of developing countries in the recent past, with the use of western paradigms of modernization and development in the task of socio-economic transformation, shows these dangers. As Dube (1988) has recently analyzed, these models have failed, and need serious rethinking in the search of alternative paradigms. It is now "realized that the notion of the inevitability of progress was a myth, that the calculus of economics alone led to misdirection of effort, that the human factor enmeshed in the social and cultural ethos was a force to contend with, and that subtle political considerations intervening in the development process, if not sensitively managed, could bring disaster" (Dube, 1988, p. 104). The search for alternative perspectives is not merely to be opposed to the prevalent ones, but must retain what is relevant and useful, reject what is irrelevant and worthless, and take us forward to develop valid and richer analyses of social phenomena than what we have today.

The response of Indian psychologists to social problems has been diverse. On the one extreme there are scholars who think that psychology has a role in almost all areas of social change and its management. They extend the field to include policy formulation, its implementation and evaluation. Some of them tend to assume the role of a political activist who tries to formulate the goals. The

other extreme is represented by those who believe that psychology's main concern is understanding and explaining behavioral phenomena. Being pure scientists, they analyse the problems from a purely academic perspective. The majority of psychologists are in between these two extremes. As cautious optimists they share the view that confining psychology to laboratory and purely academic or theoretical issues would make it dull and would not justify its responsibility vis-a-vis social welfare. As a result they are including variables from social, cultural, political and economic spheres, and try to explore new areas. These middle ground psychologists have also started incorporating socially relevant variables in their research designs. This is reflected in the inclusion of samples drawn from rural areas, tribal areas, and scheduled caste and tribe groups. Also, there is a growing trend for using nonstudent samples representing the general population. This has certainly extended the data base of our studies.

However, true applied social psychological research, which originates from the field setting itself, has yet to be started. In fact, available studies are different from what is known as applied social psychology in the west. As Tripathi (1988a) has indicated, these studies deal with problems vastly different from those encountered in the west and are low in application value.

EMERGING THEMES

The contributors to this volume have provided information and insights to aid our understanding of some of the important issues relevant to the problems faced by the developing countries. We note that some of the chapters can be grouped by their focus on similar topics and issues. It may be useful to articulate these emerging themes which are of major concern to the growth of applied social psychology.

Need for Indigenization

The most important theme which has emerged in almost all the contributions to this volume is the realization of the limits of western models and theories in interpreting and understanding Indian social reality. It is felt that the understanding of social behavior cannot be divorced from the eco-cultural setting within which it occurs. Some

of the manifestations of the calls for indigenization are available in many of the chapters here. D. Sinha's reference to the process of adjustment as living with the environment rather than controlling it, R. C. Misra's analysis of domain and culture specific conceptualization of competence; and J. B. P. Sinha's analysis of endogenous development demonstrate that it is time to reorient social psychological research so that we may grasp the social reality.

In this context it is important to note that the universality of social psychological principles is being challenged on many grounds. For instance, K. J. Gergen (1973) and Argyris (1975) have argued that the findings of social psychological research are historically specific and, therefore, time bound. They consider contemporary social psychology as primarily a descriptive attempt at providing an account of contemporary North American history. The social psychological theories and explanations reflect underlying historical currents. In fact our scientific lenses change as the culture changes (Scarr, 1985). If social psychology is committed to understanding and explaining social reality at individual and group levels, we need culture specific explanations. A recent analysis of American psychological studies by Sears (1986) has revealed that the model of man emerging from the studies (conducted on college students in a laboratory setting) is discrepant from reality. Since forms of social behavior are culture specific, western concepts have limited value in understanding and interpreting our reality (Jain & Misra, 1986, Misra, 1987; Moghaddam, 1987; Sampson, 1988; Tripathi, 1988b). Social psychology, therefore, will have to rely on the constructs relevant to cultural and societal contexts.

This would require redefining variables and operationalizing them in appropriate and culturally relevant terms. Social problems can only be investigated in their specific social and historical context. There is growing evidence that the concept of individual, parent-child relationship, framework of time and space, determinants of interpersonal relationship, perception of causes, relationship with other forms of life and environment, developmental categories describing maturity, and prosocial behavior are conceptualized differently in the Indian context. This demands development of indigenous concepts and methods. It seems that indigenization has to aim at developing paradigms for the interpretation and understanding of social reality with due regard to the historical and cultural context.

Multidisciplinary Approach to the Study of Social Change

The issue of manipulating and regulating social change is the most important problem faced by developing countries. However, as the nature of social change is quite complex the unidisciplinary perspectives are bound to generate incomplete and biased understanding of social change. The problems lie at the crossroads of the disciplines. Yet we have shown little team spirit. The contributors to this volume, however, are from many disciplines and a close perusal of their contributions suggests that the perspectives of different disciplines are complementary and access to them sharpens our vision toward social problems.

The analysis of deprivation and poverty undertaken by the multidisciplinary contributions to this volume illustrates this complementarity. For instance, Minocha analyses poverty as an economic phenomenon and shows how the interface of production and marketing systems, and lack of institutional changes make the program of poverty elimination ineffective. The papers by Jain and Saraswathi and Dutta show the constraints of growing and living under poverty conditions. Analyzing the perceived reality Jain provides evidence to show that people from the deprived sections of society develop helplessness, which is sustained and reinforced by similar stereotypes held by significant others. The paper by G. Misra illustrates the motivational and cognitive consequences of deprivation at the individual level. Shukla's article on social tension indirectly relates the problem of poverty or class differences to the emergence of social tension, and Nandu Ram's chapter examines the problem of the identity of deprived people in relation to social mobility. Taken together, these papers show that poverty and deprivation are individual as well as group level phenomena and their manifestations are related to objective as well as perceived social reality. In this way both the individual and systemic levels are involved and a comprehensive analysis of the problem would be possible only if social scientists are prepared to communicate with each other and accept the contributions of others in a complementary manner.

Toward a Policy Oriented Research

So far psychologists were addressing their research efforts to the

study of specific problems with little concern for social policy. We did not ask questions about basic problems. Instead, we sought problems that could fit our methodological skills. As a result psychology has not yet been able to attain the status of policy science. The contributions to this collection suggest that the researchers are becoming more concerned with social policy. Discussing the social aspects of language behavior, Ajit Mohanty has tried to focus on linguistic policy which constitutes a very important component of national policy. He has suggested that social integration would be possible through accepting minority as well as majority languages in informal and formal contexts, respectively. Also, there is a need to delink status and prestige from language. The paper on crowding by Jain and G. Misra also has policy implications. The findings reveal that housing plans and designs have architectural as well as human dimensions. Similarly, the analysis of the population problem by Verma observes that fertility behavior is determined by multiple factors and intervention for population control would be effective only if socio-psychological factors are taken into account.

In a recent analysis of the problems involved in making psychology a policy science, J. B. P. Sinha (1988) has rightly remarked that we have reached a stage where we are under pressure to contribute to national development and we indeed have the potentials to do so, provided we make concerted efforts. He thinks that psychologists have to operationalize the indicators of development and demonstrate how the goals of development can be realized by (a) restructuring, or modifying, or introducing new systems; (b) applying psychological principles of resource allocation and utilization; and (c) implementing the schemes through people's participation. This, however, requires that we (a) get involved in action research; (b) confront the interests and (c) organize people to claim the resources they deserve.

NEED FOR REORIENTING SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

The authors generally hold the view that social psychology can and should play an important role in the socio-economic transformation of society. Contemporary social psychology, however, is micro in orientation and focuses on the individual. This orientation is not suitable for dealing with macro-level variables (D. Sinha, 1985). Our tendency to use micro-variables has become such a deep rooted research practice that we often use macro-variables in the form of micro-

variables. This strategy fails to delineate the practical implications of macro-variables. The macro-variables are difficult to interpret unless they are unpacked (Sahoo & Sia, 1985). We need sound theoretical framework to use micro as well as macro-variables in a given research design.

Another limitation of our studies is their limited temporal perspective. Most of the processes of social change involve time as a major dimension. In general, however, the researchers' practice pays little attention to the changes across different time periods. In view of these problems M. M. Gergen (1987) has argued for developing diachronic social psychology where time is considered in units depending on our need. It would be sensitive to the ways social patterns are embedded within particular historical conditions. It would help in understanding cross-time changes in social patterns. In order to enhance the application value of studies we must design and plan studies with time as a variable.

Use of quasi experimental designs and unobtrusive measures would be more appropriate than the use of experimental method and self-report measures. Use of observation, and analysis of cultural products providing diachronic data would be fruitful. The use of sensitive and reliable measures is the most important consideration (Mukherjee, 1985; Turner, 1981) for conducting studies relevant to policy formulation.

An important issue which is creating anxiety and leads to frustration among psychologists is that the knowledge which they generate remains unutilized by the policy makers, politicians, and other potential consumers. The results of studies are confined to the audience of fellow researchers, usually fellow psychologists. Reflecting on this issue Thorngate and Plouffe (1987) have contended that such a situation is largely due to the features of knowledge which make it more or less consumable. These features include comprehensibility, credibility, importance, and interest. At present psychologists do not produce much which satisfies these criteria and, therefore, remains unused by the consumer. The remedy is to change the style of communication. The psychologists will have to consider this problem seriously and have to take steps for initiating dialogue with nonprofessional audiences, colleagues of other disciplines as well as the general public.

Rethinking about the nature of applied social psychology is also warranted. Some psychologists consider applied social psychological

research as largely contractual involving the role of practitioner while others consider that application of social psychology is indistinguishable from basic research. A careful analysis of the situation illustrates that theory and its applications to social problems are interdependent. Applied social psychology may be considered as an alternative to the traditional approach to social psychology. Mainstream social psychology involves "a superficial pseudo-scientific approach to understanding social behavior in which the search for truth takes us through primarily logical reasoning rather than complex, factual observation" (Fisher, 1987, p. 299). Such mainstream psychology leads to detachment from social reality. Fisher (1987) also accuses social psychology for focusing on intrapsychic cognitive processes that may relate to the existing social reality in a limited manner. In contrast, applied social psychology tries to understand human behavior as a complex multidetermined process, and seeks to ameliorate social problems through the application of theories, research methods, and practice skills (Fisher, 1982). It links and integrates theory, research, and practice. As Bickman (1982) has contended, applied social psychology is more concerned with external validity, involves multiple levels of analysis and methods, and favors multidisciplinary approach. More recently, Fisher (1987) has crystallized the main concerns of applied social psychology which characterize *pragmatic transcendence* of the discipline of social psychology. These are: (a) a central focus on fundamental social problems at all levels of analysis; (b) continuous integration of theory, research, and practice; (c) development of middle range theories stressing the reciprocal interaction of the person and the environment; (d) application of a variety of complementary research methods; (e) expansion of practice expertise partly through interdisciplinary collaboration; (f) adherence to a clearly articulated humanistic value base and a professional code of ethics; and (g) commitment to continuous professional development and role versatility. The development of applied social psychology of this nature demands going beyond the boundaries of the discipline's metatheoretical assumptions and methodological framework.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

A close perusal of the developments in the field of social psychology shows that there is manifold increase in the studies, and psychologists

are expressing concern for social relevance. However, a critical appraisal of theory, research, and practice in this area reveals that there are several theoretical, methodological, and professional constraints. The use of appropriate and culturally relevant concepts and measures is a very crucial issue. In recent years considerable attention has been paid to the problems of methodology in the cross-cultural context (Triandis & Berry, 1980). Despite the limitations of poor psychometric measures, they are used most frequently and other methods and measures are not exploited. The researchers also do not avail themselves of the opportunity to use secondary data sources. A critical analysis of research designs reveals that usually the concepts are not measured and operationalized in terms of proximal variables. As a result they do not allow identification of the processes which underly the phenomenon.

The new orientation in social psychological research which addresses important social problems and policy issues is, however, reflected in the efforts of a minority of researchers. They are questioning the western models and are seriously involved in an effort to provide the basis for social psychological perspectives relevant to the Indian setting. The teaching of social sciences in general and psychology in particular shows wide gaps between academic theory and reality. Classroom teaching is kept apart from the problems faced by the country. The theoretical perspectives are divorced from applied problems. Thus development is occurring within a framework of crude and abstract empiricism. We have failed in developing a critical and creative understanding of the interrelationship between theory and application.

The growth of any discipline is intimately linked to the professional climate of that discipline. It determines the professional ethics, professional standards, and acquisition of professional skills. Professional organization of psychologists in India is very weak. We need immediate corrective measures for developing a meaningful dialogue among psychologists and with the scholars of other sister disciplines. The modal pattern and central tendencies of the prevailing professional culture do not appear very promising. It seems that vigorous professional drive has to be launched to change the situation. Equally important is the need to change the tendency to maintain insularity and to have somewhat negative attitude toward sister disciplines.

Being optimistic and assuming rationality the modern man is

deliberately trying to shape the environment and circumstances for positive outcomes. In this endeavor almost all disciplines are vigorously engaged as the problems faced in contemporary societies call for interventions in different spheres and at different levels. The interface of science and technology with socio-cultural and psychological spheres of life is posing problems of varying magnitude and demands attention from the students of different disciplines. In this context we realize the need for more careful analysis of the role of psychologists. We are aware of our limitations and have no illusion about our potentials in solving social problems. But we can definitely contribute toward examining the societal effects of policy, and provide analytic techniques and conceptual framework to the assessment of different assumptions. We have both the opportunity and responsibility to help alleviate many of the problems of our society. Whether psychology gets recognition and psychologists are involved in the programs of national development will depend upon their intent and action.

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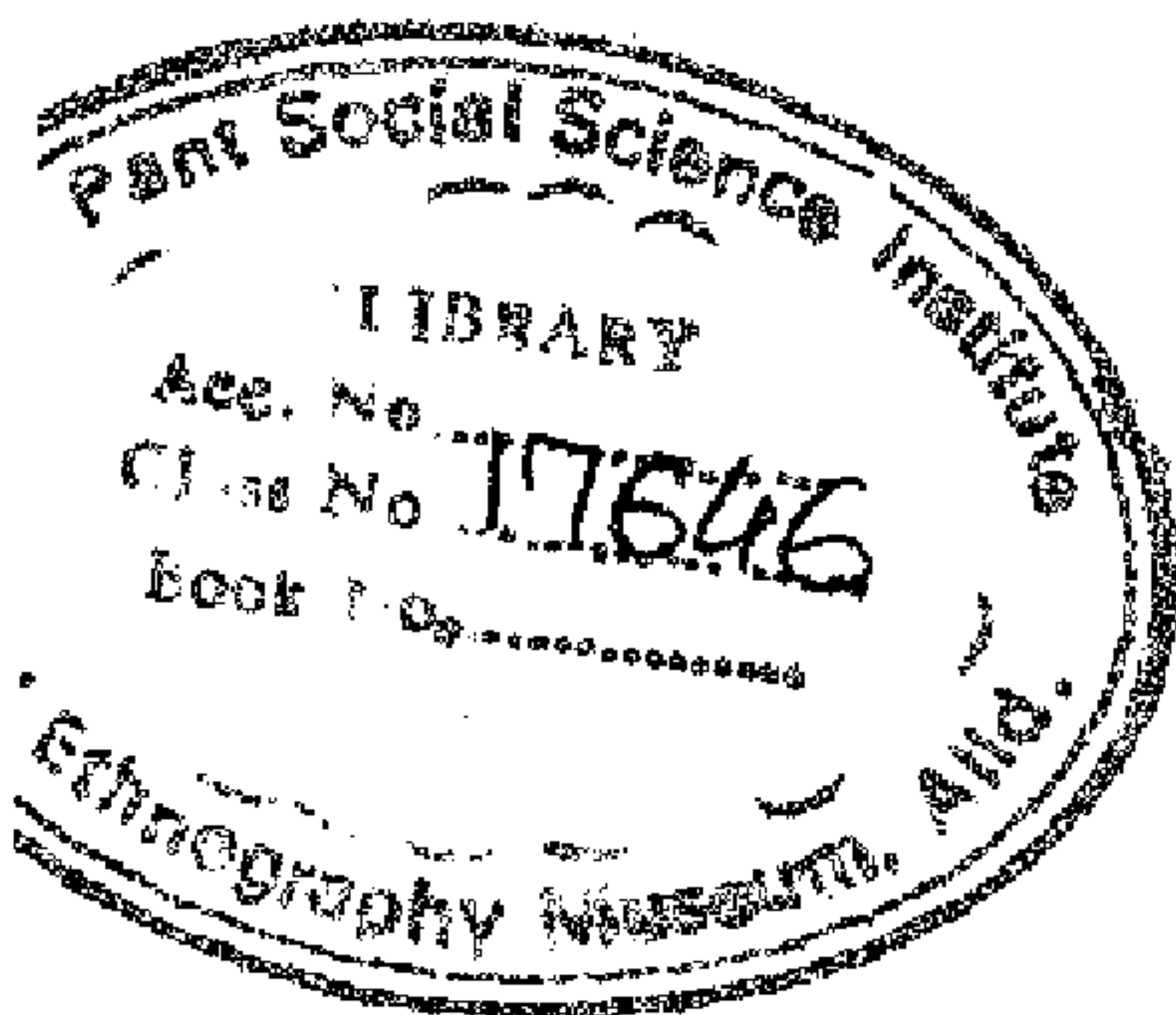
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